The Antiquaries Journal

Being the Journal of the Society of Antiquaries of London

VOLUME XXIX JANUARY–APRIL 1949 NUMBERS 1, 2

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Published by

GEOFFREY CUMBERLEGE. OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON GLASGOW NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE WELLINGTON

BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS CAPE TOWN

Annual Subscription, 30s. post free; 15s. per double part

NOTES

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The Antiquaries Journal

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A MEDIEVAL HARNESS-MOUNT AT TERMOLI

By J. B. Ward Perkins, F.S.A.

Termoli is a small city of the Molise, on the Adriatic coast of Italy just above the junction of the 'spur' of Gargano with the main coastline. Like the whole of the lower Molise, it had in the middle ages a troubled history, always in dispute between the duchies of Benevento and Spoleto and the successive masters of Apulia, and on at least two occasions the victim of disastrous sack, at the hands of the Venetians in combat with Frederic II and in 1566 at the hands of the Turkish fleet under Ali Pasha. In 1943 it re-emerged characteristically into history as the scene of a successful flank-landing by the Eighth Army. Its most notable monuments are the remains of the castle built by Frederic II and the cathedral church of S. Basso, built under the same monarch[1] and the most northerly outlier of the northern branch of the great Apulian school of Romanesque architecture. The façade, with its elaborate scheme of recessed arcading, derives directly from that of the Collegiata at Foggia, with which it shares the unusual characteristic of the use of a pronounced horseshoe arch. Within have recently been exposed the remains of the pre-Romanesque church and fragments of a mosaic pavement in the style of those at Otranto and Trani.[2]

The purpose of this note is to discuss a singular medieval reliquary, which has been preserved in the treasury of the cathedral.[3] There is no tradition attached to it. In its present form (pl. I, *c* and *d*) it consists of four distinct portions: a base in the form of a flanged, slightly convex disc; a central, vertical shank; a circular, openwork disc, attached to the head of the shank and displaying on both faces a coat of arms; and, swivelling on the shank, a metal sphere from which project four curved arms, each of which in turn carries a pair of dangling armorial pendants. The scar left by the detachment of a fifth arm is plainly visible and, as will be seen below, there was originally a sixth.

The material throughout is a uniform copper alloy, and the whole of the surface area was once gilt, with the exception of the coats of arms and the enamelled surfaces

[1] So L. Bertaux, *L'Art dans l'Italie méridionale*, i, 645–7. Miss E. M. Jamison points out to me, however, that an inscription on one of the capitals of the main door records Grimoald of Ravello, a judge, whose signature appears on a document relating to Ravellese citizens at Termoli as early as 1153 (M. Camera, *Memorie storiche-diplomatiche dell' antica Città e Ducato di Amalfi*, Salerno, 1876, vol. i, p. 361).

[2] Bertaux, *op. cit.* 488 f.

[3] In preparing this article the writer has availed himself of the advice and help of Miss E. M. Jamison; of Dr. U. Chierici, Superintendent of Monuments and Galleries for the Abruzzi and Molise; of Professor Sergio Ortolani; of Professor W. F. Stohlman; and of Mr. Francis Wormald. To the Bishop and Chapter of Vasto thanks are due for permitting the publication of this reliquary.

of the base. The coats of arms are uniform throughout: *azure, a star of eight points argent with a label of three points gules, within a bordure gobony or and gules*, executed in opaque red and blue champlevé enamel, with a silvered surface to the central star. Apart from the coats of arms on the upper disc and on the shield-shaped pendants, the upper part is plain. The base, on the other hand, is elaborately ornamented (fig. 1). Grouped radially about a central square, which once contained a pattern of small gilt rosettes against a ground of blue enamel (the latter now almost entirely perished), are four shield-shaped frames bearing the same coat of arms as appears on the upper part of the reliquary. The greater part of the space between the shields and the moulded edge of the disc is filled with four vesica-shaped frames; and each of these in turn contains, within an inner lobed frame, a grotesque human-headed bird, engraved and gilt against a ground of red enamel. The spandrels between the vesica-frames and the shields are filled with gilt rosettes against a ground of blue enamel, similar to those in the central square.

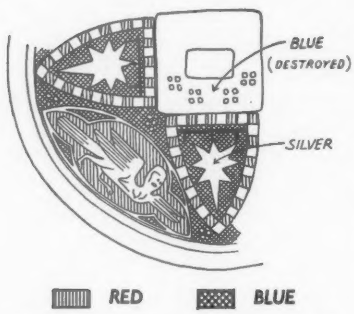


FIG. 1. Reliquary at Termoli, detail of base. (½)

It is clear from the most cursory examination that this object has been adapted to serve as a reliquary, and that such was not its original purpose. On general grounds the design appears reasonable only in terms of a desire to allow the maximum play and movement when in a state of motion. Moreover, although the opening pierced in the central sphere for the insertion of the relics is quite carefully cut, it was sealed in the crudest possible manner with rough dabs of solder, quite out of character with the refined workmanship of the rest of the reliquary. An examination of the interior of the sphere reveals, on the lower edge of the opening, traces of the same slight internal swelling as marks the point of attachment of the other five arms. The opening is in fact secondary. There were originally six identical arms, and the sphere presented an unbroken surface save for the holes at the top and bottom whereby it swivelled upon the central shank.

It is further evident that the junction between the base and the central shank is not, in its present form at any rate, a part of the original design. At the point of junction the shank is clasped by a sleeve which is of somewhat different alloy and of decidedly coarser workmanship than the rest. This in turn is held in place by a rough lump of solder, run into the hollowed under-surface of the base and clamped to it by four rivets. The points of the rivets have penetrated through to the upper surface within the central square of the design, from which the enamel has, in consequence, almost entirely flaked away. While there is no intrinsic reason to doubt that the base and the shank were from the outset in some way related, there is equally nothing to show that their present juxtaposition is other than a rather clumsy makeshift.

What then was the original use of the base? There are on the under-side, on the inner edge of the flange, eight small, regular, rectangular thickenings, which

suggest, as indeed the layout of the ornament clearly indicates, that it was always meant to stand horizontally, as a base of some sort or other. As such it is hard to see how it can have formed a part of the armorial trappings of a harness, as the rest of the reliquary can be shown to have been; unless indeed the shank of the latter was originally longer, and what is now the base was then a mere ornamental disc concealing a functional base, since lost. In that case, however, the apparently purposeful flange is deprived of meaning. On the whole it seems easier to conjecture that the first owner had at some time commissioned several assorted pieces of fine enamelled metalwork from a single workshop; and that it was from two of these that he, or his heirs, contrived the singular object which now adorns the treasury at Termoli.

The original form and purpose of the upper part of the Termoli reliquary is established beyond reasonable doubt by a comparison with two objects, of unknown provenance, in the British Museum. In general terms these may be described as 'harness-mounts'. They are, in fact, unusually elaborate specimens of the fittings employed for the suspension of the gay pendants, often but by no means always armorial, which were so characteristic a feature of later medieval horse-harness.[1]

The first of these two mounts is illustrated in pl. 1 *a* and fig. 2. It is of plain bronze, once no doubt gilt, although no trace of the gilding survives. Like the Termoli reliquary, it consists of a central shank upon which is free to rotate a hollow sphere. From the sphere project four slightly curved arms, and from these in turn hang four simple decorative pendants. Similar pendants hang also from four shorter arms, which project rigidly from the shank itself above the sphere; and above these again, at the top of the shank, sits a pleasantly stylized bird. The foot of the shank is engaged in a narrow, strap-like fitting, ornamented at the one end with a crude fleur-de-lis, and at the other with a cross-piece consisting of a pair of decorated panels, identical in design with the pendants above. Both ends are pierced with rivets for attachment to a leather base; and although the whole metal base-fitting is now considerably distorted,[2] a comparison with the second of the two British Museum harness-mounts makes it clear that it was originally flexed in such a way as to accommodate two straps passing at right angles between it and the leather base upon which it was mounted.

The second British Museum harness-mount (pl. 1 *b*, and fig. 3)[3] is a simpler version of the first, made of bronze with traces of the original gilding. It had four arms projecting from the central hollow sphere. All the pendants are lost; but their character can be judged from the shield-shaped terminal which (as in the Termoli reliquary) crowns the central shank and displays on either face a coat of arms inlaid in red champlevé enamel. The base-fitting is similar to that previously described, but more solid in construction. At one end there is a damaged, bilobed plate, with rivets for attachment to a leather base; and there are two clearly defined slots for the passage of the transverse straps.

[1] *London Museum Medieval Catalogue*, 1940, pp. 118–22.

[2] This distortion, visible in pl. 1 *a*, has for the sake of clarity been eliminated in the scale-drawing, fig. 2.

[3] Previously illustrated in *British Museum, Guide to the Medieval Room*, 1907, fig. 54; *Proc. Dorset Field Club*, xxxii, 1911, 226–38, fig. 12.

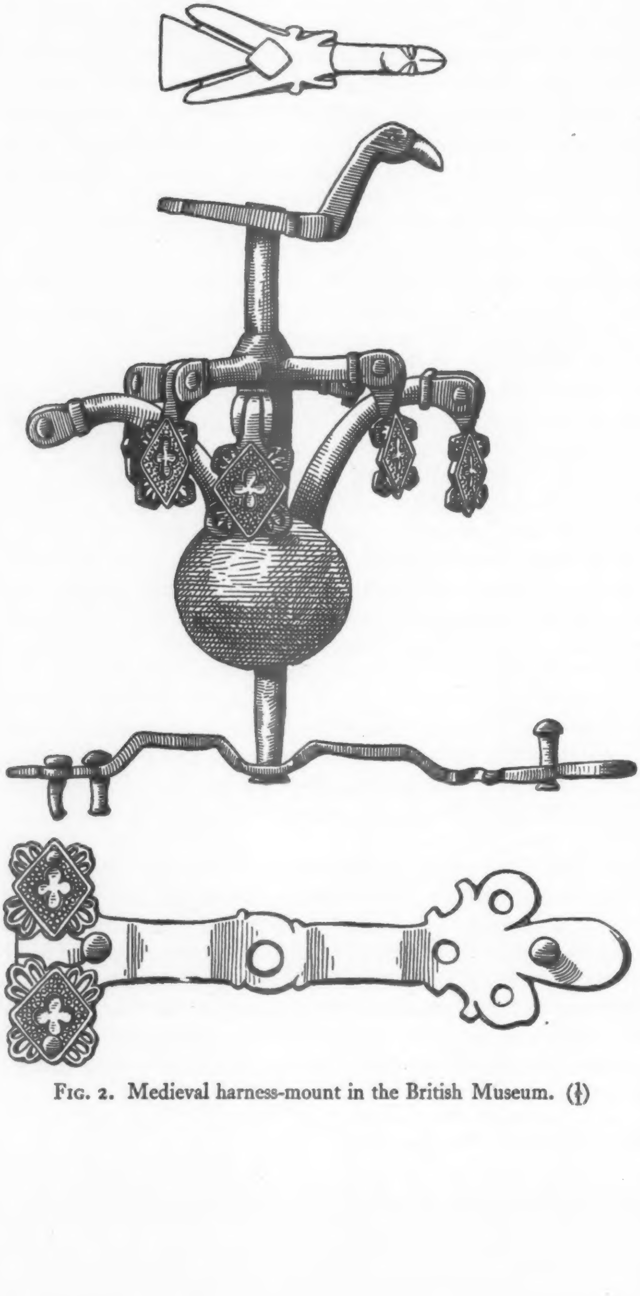


FIG. 2. Medieval harness-mount in the British Museum. (½)

Part of yet another similar mount is preserved in the Blackmore Museum, Salisbury.[1] The base-fitting and central shank are missing, but the hollow sphere with four projecting arms is characteristic; and the survival of two of the armorial pendants enables it to be identified with some confidence as the former property of Alice, countess of Salisbury, a great lady of the first quarter of the fifteenth century and mother of the famous Kingmaker, the earl of Warwick.

The function of these mounts is, in general terms, made perfectly clear by the identity of character between the pendants which adorn them and the simpler

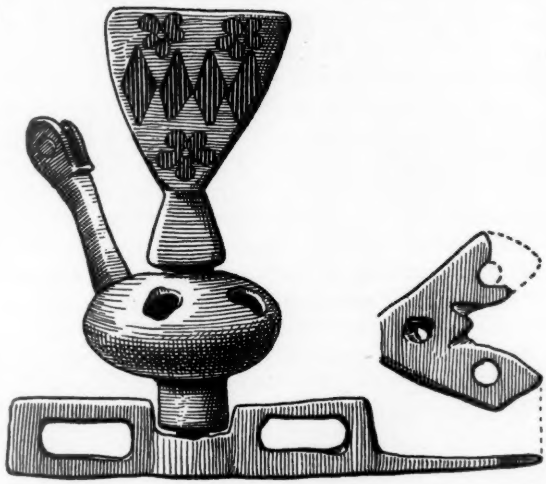


FIG. 3. Medieval harness-mount in the British Museum. (1/1)

versions of harness-mount which were in common use. The contemporary series of bronze equestrian aquamaniles[2] show how the latter were used, usually on the horse's forehead, chest, and flanks, suspended from the leather harness by means of mounts similar to that illustrated in *London Museum Medieval Catalogue*, 1940, pl. XVIII, 5.[3] Mounts of the type of the Termoli reliquary belong unmistakably to the same family, and must be considered as more elaborate models for use on special occasions. That they adorned the crest of a head-stall is a very plausible conjecture, and Mr. Francis Wormald has drawn the writer's attention to two manuscript illustrations in the British Museum which appear to illustrate something of the sort. The first of these (Add. MS. 12228, f. 212 *b*) comes from a fine manuscript, probably north Italian, *circa* 1400, and illustrates a queen riding beneath a canopy held by four squires. From the head-stall springs a fleur-de-lis-like ornament (pl. II *a*). The second (Royal MS. 20 D. I, f. 290) is of the mid-fourteenth century

[1] *British Museum Guide to Medieval Antiquities*, 1924, fig. 3. *Proc. Dorset Field Club*, xxxii, 1911, 226–38, fig. 12.

[2] O. v. Falke, 'Reiteraquamanilen', *Pantheon*, i, 246–52; also *Antiq. Journ.* xix, 1939, 300–2.

[3] See also note on a harness-mount from Barnwood, Glos., now in Cheltenham Museum, forthcoming in *Trans. Bristol and Glos. Arch. Soc.*

and comes probably from Naples. It illustrates Hannibal meeting Scipio, and the head-stall of the crowned figure's horse bears a small bird (pl. II *b*). In both cases the ornament is evidently considered appropriate to a special person on a special occasion; and mounts of the type of the Termoli reliquary may well indeed have been so used. In the surviving English examples, however, it is difficult to reconcile the form of the base-fitting, a longitudinal attachment with slots for two transverse straps, with any rational form of head-stall. A more practical alternative is that they were mounted on a saddle, not of course on a riding-saddle, but on that of a draught-horse, such as was used to draw the later medieval 'great carriage'. Armorial pendants are one of the commonest of surviving medieval antiquities, and the mounts under discussion are not the only ones which appear to belong more naturally to the fittings of a carriage and its harness than to that of a riding-horse.[1] It is perhaps not without significance that the only surviving specimen to be heraldically identified appears to display the arms of a lady who must undoubtedly have been the possessor of such a carriage.

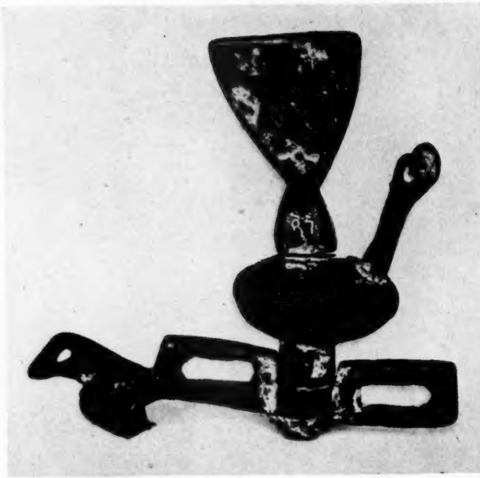
The effect of a mount of this latter type would have been somewhat akin to that of the elaborate decorative edifice which nowadays ornaments the saddle of every Neapolitan cart-horse (pl. II *c* and *d*). Apart from the terrets they incorporate, these gay southern extravaganzas of bells, ribbons, and plumes serve no useful function whatever. It would be pressing the analogy too closely to seek any direct connexion between the bronze bird that often flutters at the crest (pl. II *c*) and the bird of the British Museum mount. Evidently, however, such a usage is still considered decoratively apt; and it will be noted that, like the medieval mounts, these Neapolitan saddle-crests are shaped to allow the passage of one or more transverse straps.

An armorial harness-fitting of a type current in later medieval England (and one may reasonably presume in contemporary France, where heraldic pendants identical with the English series are common[2]) is a somewhat unexpected object to find in the cathedral treasury of a small Adriatic coastal city. It can of course readily be explained as the gift of some member of the Angevin nobility with local interests or connexions. Romanelli, quoting the since recently destroyed archives of the Angevin Kingdom of Naples,[3] records that Charles I conferred the signory of Guasto (i.e. Vasto) Gisone upon Bertrand des Baux (Beltrando del Balzo); and it was incorporated with the neighbouring Guasto Aimone by Charles III of Durazzo in 1385, to become the modern Vasto. There is, however, no indication that it ever included Termoli; and it is unduly straining heraldic probability to suggest that the arms displayed on the reliquary might be those of a cadet branch of the del Balzo family, whose arms later included a quartering of *gules, a star of sixteen points argent*. *Azure, a star of eight points argent* was borne by the Scillati, or

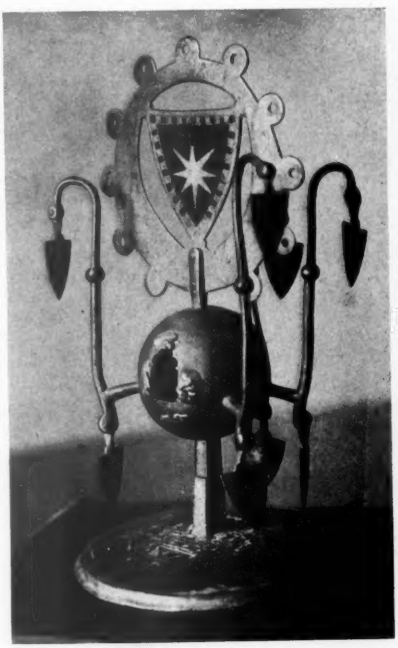
[1] e.g. *London Museum Medieval Catalogue*, 1940, fig. 40, 2. Similar heraldic mounts, swivelling on a lateral loop, are not uncommon. There are examples in the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, Norwich Castle Museum, and elsewhere.

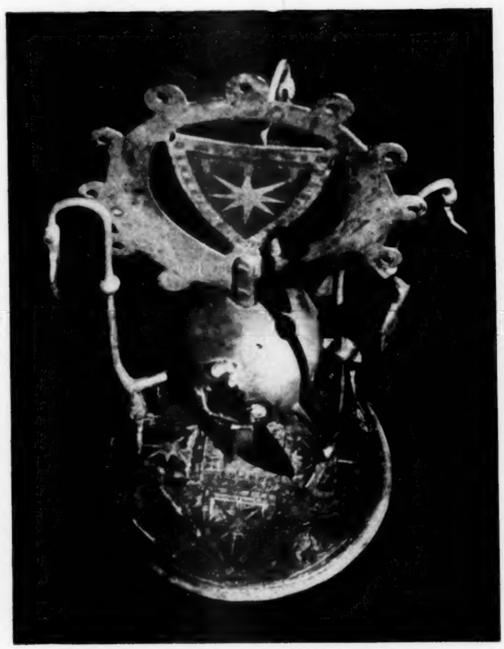
[2] But not in Spain, where pendants of a somewhat different form were in use.

[3] D. Romanelli, *Scoverte patrie di città distrutte e di altre antichità nella regione Frentana oggi Apruzzo citeriore nel Regno di Napoli*, Napoli, 1805, vol. i, pp. 245, 247. I owe this reference to Miss E. M. Jamison.



a, *b*. Medieval harness-mounts in the British Museum
(*Photos, British Museum*)





c, *d*. Reliquary at Termoli
(*Photos c., Superintendency of Monuments and Galleries for the Abruzzi and Molise; d., author*)

a, b. MS. illustrations of head-stall mounts: *a,* North Italian, *c.* 1400;
b, Neapolitan, mid 14th century
(*Photos, British Museum*)

c, d. Present-day Neapolitan saddles

Stellati, family of Salerno; but if this family was in any way connected with Termoli the fact appears to have escaped the attention of local historians. A metropolitan French origin cannot be excluded.[1] For the present all that can be said is that the reliquary in its original form dates from the fourteenth century and owes its presence in the Treasury at Termoli to some unidentified Angevin benefactor. It may be that the evidence for a more precise identification perished for ever in the tragic bonfire of 30th September 1943, which marked the final revenge of Hohenstaufen upon Anjou.

[1] The writer is not competent to discuss the stylistic affinities of the enamel-work. It is certainly not traditional indigenous Italian work; but, superficially at any rate, it would not seem improbable that enamels of this sort were being produced under foreign influence at the Angevin Court of Naples.

NORTH STREET, FOLKESTONE, KENT

By B. H. St. J. O. Neil, M.A., V.-P.S.A.

This street is close to the area of Folkestone which suffered severely from enemy action; indeed certain of the houses, which were once at its southern end, no longer exist. Examination of the remaining houses, several of them shaken by blast, was undertaken with a view to the removal of any fittings of value, should it be decided to demolish them.

This examination led at once to the realization that nearly all of the remaining houses, nos. 13 to 49 (on the western side) and 16 to 44 (on the eastern),[1] are of seventeenth-century type with but one room on each floor, ground, first, and attic. Many hundreds of this type of seventeenth-century house have recently been studied at Great Yarmouth, where some dated examples belong to the first half of the century. At that town certain features occur in all houses of that half-century so far studied. They are (1) a front door and a back door opposite to one another with connecting passage, off which opened the ground-floor room; (2) a fire-place on the side of the room opposite to the passage, flanked on one side by a cupboard with a small window lighting it and on the other side by a winding stair, closed at the bottom by a door; and (3) the continuance of this stair to the attic floor with small windows lighting it between each floor. Stop-chamfered beams are, of course, very frequently found.

Since the houses in North Street, Folkestone, seemed to resemble in a general manner those of Great Yarmouth which have been mentioned, it was desirable to study them closely, in the hope thereby of advancing the very neglected study of small town dwellings of the seventeenth century. The surveys here presented were prepared by the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments of the Ministry of Works, and are published by permission of the Minister of Works and of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office. The photographs (pl. III) are reproduced by courtesy of the Borough Librarian, Folkestone. The evidence for their date from their architectural character will first be stated; then the features of their plan will be described; thereafter conclusions will be tentatively put forward regarding their place in the evolution of the houses of the period.

The front walling, where original and visible, i.e. not rebuilt in the eighteenth or nineteenth century or rendered in plaster or cement, is of Kentish ragstone rubble in quite large blocks (1 ft. by 9 in.), well coursed, with red brick quoins in the cases of nos. 13, 20, 22, and 24. Gallutting occurs in the front of no. 47, but not in the front of nos. 22, 24, and 45, the only other houses which have exposed ragstone in their front walls. Gallutting also occurs in the exposed south gable of no. 13. This ragstone rubble is often visible in the back walls of the main blocks, for example of nos. 13, 15, and 17, and it is clear from this and from other evidence that the back rooms of all the houses are additions to the original structure, which consisted only

[1] Nos. 33 and 35 are nineteenth-century buildings, and no. 29 may date entirely from the later 18th century. The remainder seem to be all of one date.

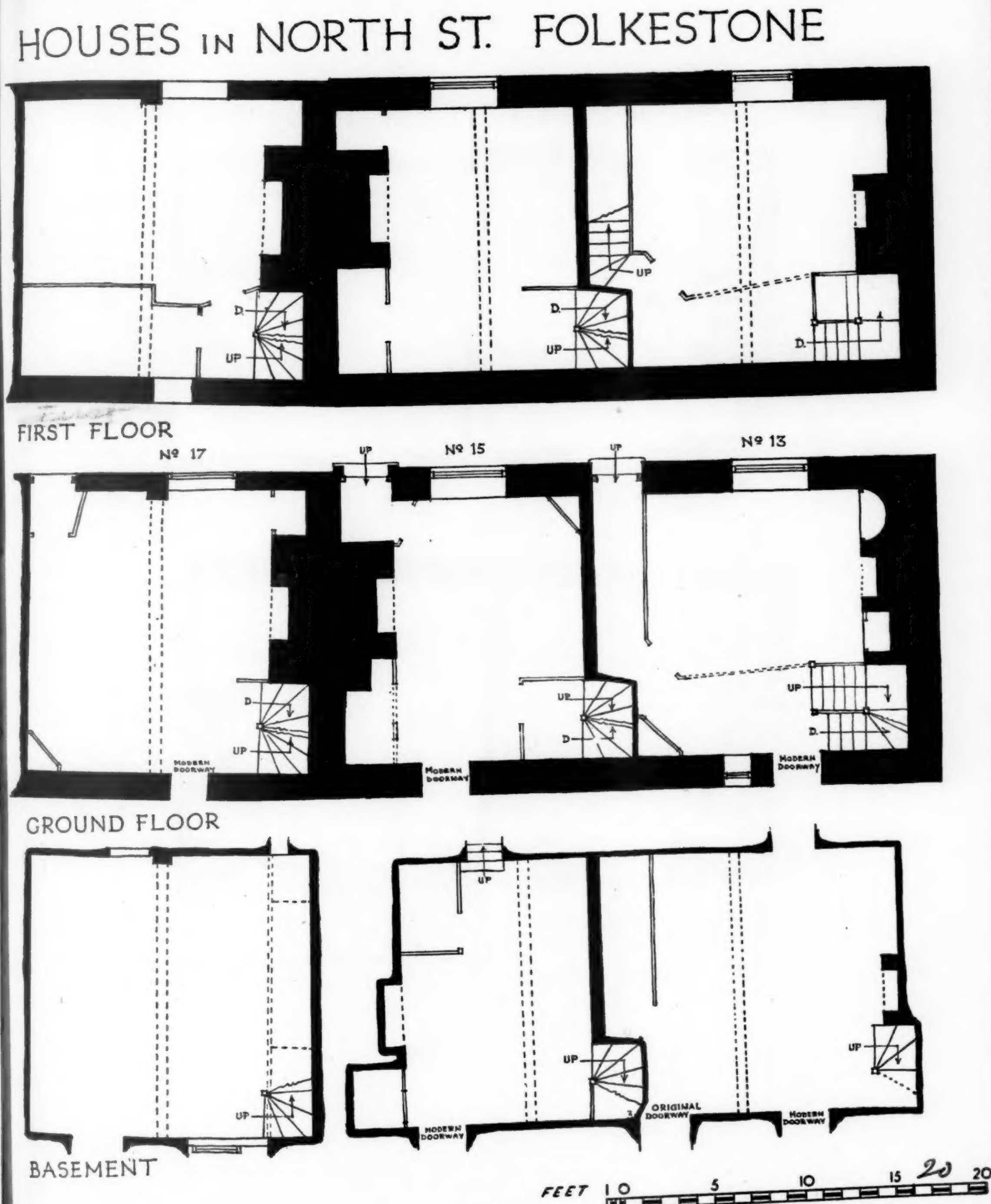

HOUSES IN NORTH ST. FOLKESTONE
FIRST FLOOR
Nº 17
Nº 15
Nº 13
UP
D.
GROUND FLOOR
MODERN DOORWAY
BASEMENT
ORIGINAL DOORWAY
FEET
10
5
10
15
20
20

FIG. 1.

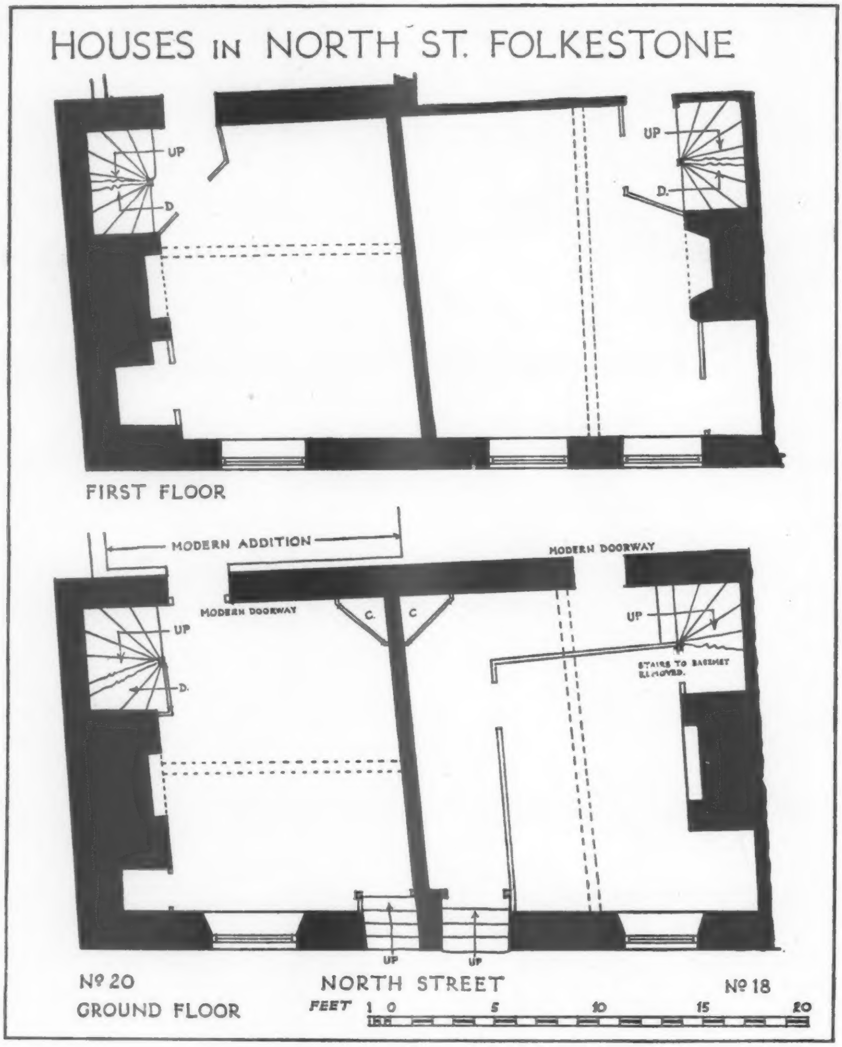

HOUSES IN NORTH ST. FOLKESTONE
UP
D.
UP
D.
FIRST FLOOR
MODERN ADDITION
MODERN DOORWAY
MODERN DOORWAY
C.
C
UP
D.
UP
STAIRS TO BASEMENT REMOVED.
UP
UP
Nº 20
GROUND FLOOR
NORTH STREET
Nº 18
FEET 1 0 5 10 15 20

FIG. 2.

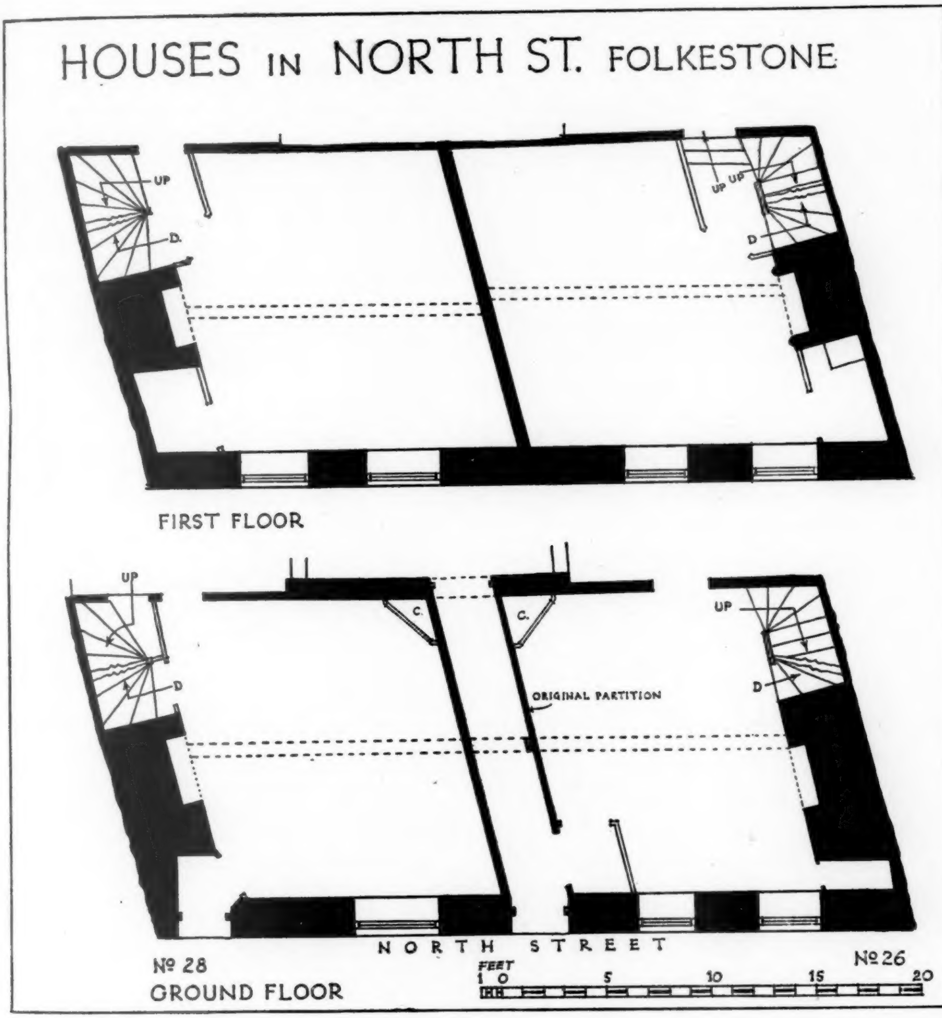

HOUSES IN NORTH ST. FOLKESTONE
UP
D.
UP UP
D
FIRST FLOOR
UP
C.
C.
UP
D
ORIGINAL PARTITION
D
NORTH STREET
Nº 28
GROUND FLOOR
Nº 26
FEET
10
5
10
15
20

FIG. 3.

of one room on the ground floor, first floor, and attic, with basement approached from outside the house.

Many of the fronts have three-course brick bands between ground and first floor. This feature occurs on nos. 13, 22, 24, 26, 28, 36, 38, 40, 45, 47, and 49, but all these houses are rendered in plaster or cement except nos. 22, 24, 45, 47, and 49. In the case of nos. 22 and 24 it seems impossible not to associate these brick bands with the quoins in the same material, and there is no evidence to suggest that either feature is an insertion in any house. In some houses there are indeed later insertions, such as eighteenth-century windows, but these are obvious. It seems, therefore, that the houses are to be dated by the brick bands to the later part of the seventeenth century.

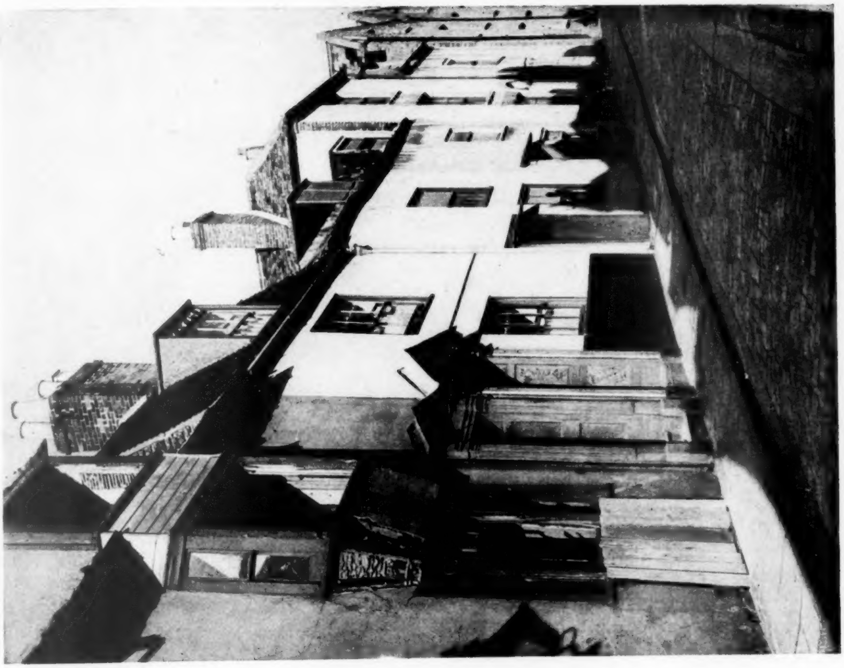
No original doorways or main doors are left, and there is only one pair of plank partitions, that is in nos. 26 and 28. There is a through passage in the former, but the back doorway has been modernized. Elsewhere on this side of the street the position of any original back doorway opposite the front doorway is obscured. On the other side of the street a drop to the garden precluded such a doorway except in the basement; one of these last is preserved, in no. 15.

It will be seen from the plans that, as at Great Yarmouth in the houses of the first half of the seventeenth century as well as in those of later date, the fire-place flanked by cupboard and winding stair, which goes up to the attic floor, is normal in these Folkestone houses. In only one example, no. 15, is the stair in any other position, and this variation of plan may be due to a later alteration. On the other hand, there is no certain example of a through passage between front door and back door with a door to the ground-floor room opening off it, a feature which in Great Yarmouth is universal in houses of the first half of the century. It is possible that the passage once existed in certain of the Folkestone houses and has later been eliminated, but such evidence as there is suggests otherwise.

The tentative conclusion is, therefore, that in these houses of the later seventeenth century there was no through passage. There is some evidence at Great Yarmouth that after *c.* 1650 at that town also through passages were no longer in use; indeed, there is a distinct suggestion that the change was quite abrupt in the middle of the century.

When so few small houses of this period have been studied, it is perhaps rash to draw far-reaching conclusions, but it may be remarked that the through passage seems undoubtedly to be a relic of medieval fashion—and it is, of course, a commonplace in larger buildings of the middle ages—and its final abandonment, *c.* 1650, does seem to emphasize a break with tradition, which can be traced in other branches of English life at the time of the Commonwealth.

a. North Street, Folkestone, Kent. Houses on the eastern side (Nos. 22 and 24 in the foreground)



b. North Street, Folkestone, Kent. Houses on the western side

Tallies *contra Edw. de Westm.* Public Record Office, Tray N. 3 of Box E 402/3A ($\frac{2}{3}$)

BUILDING BY KING HENRY III AND EDWARD, SON OF ODO

By J. G. Noppen, F.S.A.

PART II

The New Exchequer and Edward the son of Odo alias *of Westminster*

Soon after King Henry III undertook the rebuilding of Westminster Abbey Church he founded a new Exchequer ostensibly for the one purpose of handling the funds assigned thereto. In this affair Edward the son of Odo, later known as Edward of Westminster, played the chief part, and some account of his career must preface the discussion of it.

Edward is first mentioned on 28th April 1237, when Odo the goldsmith and Edward his son are ordered to deliver a cask of wine to the preceptor of the New Temple.[1] On 26th December 1238 Edward alone receives money for besants, obols of musk, and other things which he had bought for the king before Christmas.[2] Next spring Edward is paid for repairs to a quay, the planting of cherry-trees in the king's garden at Westminster, and other items.[3] It appears that about this time he became a warden of the king's works at Westminster in succession to his father Odo. The latter had held that position for many years and makes his final appearance in June 1239,[4] after which we find Edward only, and we find him very frequently. Edward's close association with the king's building work continued until the end of his life, covering the period 1238 to 1265. Its extent is by no means fully indicated in what follows.

Building, however, was but a part of Edward's work, and if ever Edward's story is fully told, he will stand out as one of the most remarkable personages of the later middle ages, and he will stand alone.

A loyal, zealous, and competent servant, he acted for a most exacting and difficult master in an astonishing variety of ways, always, apparently, with enough success to retain his wayward patron's complete trust and goodwill.

In January 1240 Odo the son of John, no other, I believe, than Edward's father, transferred to him the office of melter at the Exchequer and this was confirmed on 22nd January,[5] Odo being about to depart for the Holy Land. In the following April Edward is described as 'king's clerk',[6] and in October 1242 the archbishop of York is required to find him a benefice worth 80 marks a year.[7] In 1243 he was presented to the church of Binedon[8] in the southern province, and in 1248 to that of Ickworth in Suffolk.[9] The king did not neglect him. In 1244 Henry allowed

[1] C.R. 21 Henry III, p. 440.
[2] C.L.R. 23 Henry III, p. 356.
[3] C.L.R. 23 Henry III, p. 376.
[4] C.L.R. 23 Henry III, p. 393.
[5] C.R. 24 Henry III, p. 169 and Charter R., p. 249.
[6] C.L.R. 24 Henry III, p. 462.
[7] P.R. 26 Henry III, p. 332.
[8] P.R. 27 Henry III, p. 724.
[9] P.R. 32 Henry III, p. 21.

him a water-pipe, from the king's conduit to his house, 'of the size of a goose quill', a clear indication of his good standing.[1]

No job came amiss to this energetic man; none was too big and none too small. He received, bought, or got made on the king's behalf money, jewellery, plate, bullion, vestments, building materials, wax for the making of candles, tin for the founding of bells, herrings, venison, and his master's share of a stranded whale, not to mention obols of that mysterious commodity musk. His fame must have stretched from Lombard Street to Lombardy. He paid 1½*d.* a day for the keep of the king's piebald pony;[2] £200 (say, £8,000 of our prewar money) for a jewelled mitre for Boniface of Savoy,[3] and bought a crown costing 110 marks for the king of Norway.[4] He paid Master Henry the king's versifier, who had £1 a month as well as gifts of wine.[5] He kept the void Abbey of Westminster, from the death of Barking until the king gave his assent to the election[6] of Crokesley and, with William de Haverhull, the treasurer, took the City of London into the king's hands in August 1248 and held it in custody.[7] Edward paid 5*s.* for the funeral of Lorea the singer,[8] and, a few months later, he was one of a select little party instructed to urge some foreign merchants to give, or at least to lend, to the king 6,000 marks, or such less sum as the king might be persuaded to accept.[9]

In 1256 a lectern, ordered in 1249, which had been long in the making at St. Albans, was finished, and Edward was ordered to have it safely packed in a box and carried to Westminster ready for the king's arrival.[10]

The Close roll tells us that, on 14th January 1241, Edward was to be given money to buy a mitre and an amice, and a writ of liberate for the sum involved would be duly issued. This we find in the Liberate roll a month later, the mitre having cost £82 and the amice £43. 6*s.* 8*d.* The former was for the bishop of Hereford and the latter for the king's chapel.[11] A works transaction of the same kind occurs in 1245. On 9th October a close letter orders the treasurer and chamberlains to let Edward (to whom the king is sending a writ of liberate) have 60 marks for the completion of a gate at Westminster, and the writ of liberate is dated the next day.[12]

Edward was a personage at the Exchequer. He is mentioned as clerk to the Exchequer in the King's Remembrancer's roll,[13] and in the Patent roll he appears with Philip Luvel, the treasurer, and Peter of Rivaux, as a baron.[14] Peter is well known as a favourite of the king and, in 1237, Henry gave him sixteen oaks towards the building of a home for himself at Banstead, in Surrey.[15] In June 1248 Edward was appointed keeper of the Exchequer seal,[16] and we may think of

[1] P.R. 28 Henry III, p. 430.
[2] C.L.R. 26 Henry III, p. 134.
[3] C.L.R. 29 Henry III, p. 277.
[4] C.L.R. 29, m. 10, 37 Henry III.
[5] C.L.R. 28 Henry III, p. 225.
[6] P.R. 31 Henry III, pp. 494 and 499.
[7] P.R. 32 Henry III, p. 26.
[8] C.L.R. 29 Henry III, p. 278.
[9] C.R. 29 Henry III, pp. 314–15.
[10] C.R. 40 Henry III, p. 416.
[11] C.R. 25 Henry III, p. 266 and C.L.R. 25 Henry III, p. 29.
[12] C.R. 29 Henry III, p. 344 and C.L.R. 29 Henry III, p. 325.
[13] K.R. Mem. R. 23 m. 2, 31 Henry III.
[14] P.R. 38 Henry III, p. 326.
[15] C.R. 21 Henry III, p. 440.
[16] C.R. 32 Henry III, p. 58 and K.R. Mem. R. 24 m. 5d and L.T.R. Mem. R. 20 m. 8d.

him as Chancellor of the Exchequer in succession to Ralf of Leicester who had resigned. He certainly held that office in 1251, as is later recorded.[1]

The Memoranda roll for 32 Henry III tells us that Edward was to arrange for £8 a year to be paid to Adam Cok who was appointed keeper of the residence and forest of Clarendon,[2] and in the same year he was associated with William Hardel, warden of the mint, in assigning Henry Frowick and Nicholas of St. Albans to the posts of coiner (*monetarius*) and keeper of the assay (*essayator*).[3] Henry was a London goldsmith and had been concerned with a gold cup which cost the large sum of £53. 14*s*. 9*d*. (over £2,000 modern) and was given by the king to the church of St. Mary at Merton.[4] Nicholas was the king's remembrancer and enjoyed a salary of £10 in that respect.[5]

The Shrine and Seals

Edward was the keeper of the new shrine in making for the relics of the Confessor, and saw to the provision of material therefor, and the payment of the goldsmiths.[6] In 1246 he received 50*s*. in pure silver of which he got a new seal made for Ireland, and for the work of which Richard Patricius was paid 40*s*.[7] This seal had been completed and paid for by 30th August, and on 9th September we read that 'the king wills that all writs of common right which run in England shall likewise run in Ireland under the king's new seal'.[8] He attended to offerings on the king's behalf and to the celebration of festivals. He fed large numbers of poor on suitable occasions. When seven men were injured as the result of the collapse of a wall in Westminster Hall, Edward arranged that the victims had all that they needed until they were recovered, and that master Henry, the king's surgeon, had all that he wanted for their treatment.[9] In 1250 he and Philip Luvel had £100 to pay part of the wages of the king's sergeants, omitting those who dwelt at home.[10]

On 14th March 1251 Edward was ordered to have made before Easter four candlesticks costing 42 marks and to spend a further 10 marks on their gilding. They were to be fastened above the shrine of St. Edward, but in such manner as to allow of their being taken down and attached above the new shrine of that saint if the need should arise.[11]

Edward was invariably in residence at Westminster and had his home there. His eldest son, whose name was Odo, sold it, after his father's death, to Robert Burnel, archdeacon of York, together with some land at Enfield.[12] The son was known as Odo of Westminster, and in 1253 became melter to the Exchequer, as his father and grandfather had been before him.[13] We need not doubt that when, as the roll tells us, he took oath before the barons of the Exchequer on the morrow of St. Simon and St. Jude, his father was among those present.

[1] C.L.R. 44 Henry III.
[2] K.R. Mem. R. 24 m. 1.
[3] *Ibid.* m. 4d.
[4] C.L.R. 31 Henry III, p. 135.
[5] 'for sitting at the Exchequer in the king's service', C.L.R. 30 Henry III, p. 82.
[6] C.L.R. 26 Henry III, p. 134.
[7] C.L.R. 30 Henry III, p. 77.
[8] P.R. 30 Henry III, p. 488.
[9] C.R. 35 Henry III, p. 521.
[10] C.L.R. 35 Henry III, p. 314.
[11] C.R. 35 Henry III, p. 423.
[12] C.R. 56 Henry III, p. 566.
[13] E 368/38, m. 1d.

Odo of Westminster seems to have followed in some measure in his father's footsteps. On 26th January 1273 he was presented to the church of Finchley,[1] and on 25th January 1277 Luke de Lucca and his fellow merchants were ordered to pay him 25 marks.[2] What this was for is made clear two years later when Orlandinus de Podio and his fellow merchants of Lucca were ordered to pay Master Odo of Westminster, remembrancer of the Exchequer, 12 marks 6*s*. 8*d*. for the Easter term, 7 Edward I, of his yearly fee.[3] He still held the same post in 1283, and in February 1286 he was commissioned with two others to open and examine all the deed-boxes of the Jews (*archa cyrographorum Judaeorum*) in the City of London and Westminster according to the king's verbal instructions.[4]

In 1250 Edward was to have good money made from 700 marks of the old money of Ireland of which he was to set aside 500 for the payment of arrears to the pope and send the rest to the king.[5]

An interesting order to Edward about various works at Westminster occurs in June 1251. It expresses the king's wish that a certain room there shall be known as the 'Antioch Chamber'.[6]

In September 1252 Edward was ordered, together with Philip Luvel whom the king had appointed treasurer, to examine all the late William Haverhull's affairs what time he had been treasurer, and Edward was then to deliver all the rolls together with the small seal and other things pertaining to the office to the said Philip.[7] This year, also, Edward made many purchases for Margaret, the king's daughter, wife of the king of Scotland, including cups, chalices, a set of ornaments for Margaret's chapel, a jar, saddles, and silver-gilt spurs and a sword and belt for the knighting of the Scottish king.[8]

The Abbey Sacristy

Edward was further required in 1252 to get built for the hosteller of Westminster Abbey a good and strong building to serve as a pantry and buttery, and to have the timber that is framed below the sacristy raised above the new sacristy.[9] The new sacristy seems to have been begun in February 1251,[10] when Edward was instructed that it should be built at the king's expense, save for the timber which it seems from the above was to come from the old sacristy. The close letter of 1252 reads: *et maeremium quod est framatum infra sacristariam levari faciat supra novam sacristariam*.

The 30th March 1253 must have been a day of some rejoicing in the city; for Philip Luvel and Edward were then ordered to return to it full seisin with all that pertained to it including the revenues they had in the meantime received from it.[11]

In July 1253 Philip Luvel and Edward were ordered to collect all the king's treasure (money or otherwise) from Westminster and the Temple, and send it to

[1] P.R. 1 Edward I, p. 41.
[2] P.R. Edward I, p. 189.
[3] P.R. 7 Edward I, p. 311.
[4] C.R. 11 Edward I and P.R. 14 Edward I, p. 227.
[5] C.R. 34 Henry III, p. 326.
[6] C.R. 35 Henry III, p. 464.
[7] C.R. 36 Henry III, p. 158.
[8] C.R. 36 Henry III, pp. 1, 11, 12, 14, 18.
[9] C.R. 36 Henry III, p. 160.
[10] C.R. 35 Henry III, p. 413.
[11] C.R. 37 Henry III, p. 335.

the Tower, under their seals, affixed by counsel of the queen and Richard of Cornwall, except the regalia. Here we seem to find Henry III recognizing the traditional right of the abbey to hold the coronation ornaments. Three years later the king fixed his seal to a writing testifying to a deposit of treasure at the abbey.[1]

On 28th January 1254 Philip Luvel, Edward, and John le Fraunceys were reminded of the 7,000 marks for which the king had made fine with Simon de Montfort for the rest of his term of wardenship of Gascony. The payment was sadly in arrears, and the above faithful servants were advised, if they wished to save the king and themselves from the danger of perjury, to pay the earl without loss of time.[2] In the following October Philip Luvel and Edward, doubtless in their capacities as wardens of the works, were to have a roof made for the abbey church and to provide lead for covering it.[3] Edward had some experience in respect of lead; for, in 1244, he was paid £322. 2*s.* 1*d.* for lead that he had bought for works at Westminster during the king's absence in Gascony in the previous year.[4]

In 1255 Edward and others were concerned in persuading the City to pay a tallage of 3,000 marks. The city argued that it was not tallageable and offered an aid of 2,000 marks, which was refused. There was a great examination of records, and the City was informed that it would alternatively be assessed *per capita*. The documentary evidence was too much for the mayor and citizens, and the next day they admitted themselves to be tallageable and paid. The king ordered the affair to be inrolled *de verbo ad verbum*, lest about this sort of tallage there should be controversy on another occasion (*ne de hujusmodi tallagio alias oriatur contencio*) and so we may read it.[5]

A mandate that concerns Edward and Peter Chaceporc continues to order the latter to provide four tabards for the king's son Edward, of the king's arms, and of cloth of gold if obtainable, but, if not, of scarlet cloth with leopards of gilded leather, one tabard for the king's son and the others for Nicholas de Molis, Bartholomew Pech', and Ebulo de Montibus. That for Edward is to be lined with minever (*furretur de minuto vario*) and the others becomingly lined, say with doeskin or squirrel.[6]

One more indication of royal favour to Edward may be given. In March 1246 the constable of the Tower was ordered to deliver to Edward a lion-skin as the king's gift.[7] This must have been the lion whose feeding allowance was raised from 1½*d.* to 2*d.* a day in 1244.[8] In 1246 the king's lioness had 2*d.* a day and her keeper ½*d.*; but I must leave others to decide whether she was the widow.[9] It may perhaps be added that in July of the same year Edward was granted two bucks 'to keep his feast of St. Margaret'.[10]

I have given a very brief account of the varied activities of Edward of Westminster, but it is clear that he was an able and trusted servant of the king. He was

[1] C.R. 40 Henry III, p. 446.
[2] C.R. 38 Henry III, p. 211.
[3] C.R. 38 Henry III, p. 280.
[4] C.L.R. 28 Henry III, p. 248.
[5] C.R. 39 Henry III, p. 160, and see K.R. Mem. R. 28, m. 9d.
[6] C.R. 36 Henry III, p. 181.
[7] C.R. 30 Henry III, p. 403.
[8] C.L.R. 28 Henry III, p. 226.
[9] C.L.R. 30 Henry III, p. 19.
[10] C.L.R. 30 Henry III, p. 67.

Henry's standby when money was badly wanted, and he was first in his master's mind in respect of those intimate affairs which were nearest to the lord king's heart. A book might be written on a single aspect of this man's career. Its full story probably cannot be undertaken until all the documents are printed.

The New Exchequer

But there is one interesting and modest little job of his which we may to some extent investigate, and that is in relation to the king's building works at Westminster and the new Exchequer formed there. This was a treasury into which the king intended that such sums as he might assign to the building works should be paid. Two treasurers were appointed: the archdeacon of Westminster and Edward, who would receive and account for those sums. I believe this is the only activity we know of in respect of the first recorded archdeacon of Westminster.

The first direct reference is on 22nd April 1246, when £2,591, 'wherein the king is bound to Licoricia late the wife of David of Oxonia, Jew', was assigned to the works, and ordered to be paid into the new Exchequer, established for the purpose, of which the archdeacon and Edward were the treasurers. In addition Paulinus Peyver was to pay in 1,000 marks, Peter Chaceporc £60, Robert de Mucegroz 300 marks, and Richard de Clifford 60 marks.[1]

Now Edward and the archdeacon were the keepers of the works of the church, and had received money in respect of them in December 1245.[2] Furthermore, in February 1246 the king assigned to the same works £3,000 'whereby Moses son of Hamo, Jew of Hereford, made fine' for the goods of his deceased father. The money was to be paid to Edward and R. de Siclinghal by instalments of £50 at Easter and £50 at Michaelmas.[3] This assignment was probably the cause of the issue on 22nd April of the letters patent above quoted; for on the previous day (21st April) a letter close was addressed to the barons of the Exchequer concisely informing them that Hamo's money had been assigned to the works of the church and that they should accept no more of it; but, if they had already received some they should allocate it to Moses.[4]

The king's motive is, I think, clear. He already had some experience of difficulty in raising funds when they were wanted. He was enthusiastic about the rebuilding of the abbey church, and he wanted to ensure a regular supply of money to carry the work forward. There were some large sums due to be paid by instalments, and what could be better than to assign them to the works, and, in order to ensure that they went to the works, form a treasury for that one purpose into which they could be paid? So the new Exchequer was born, which, in order to avoid confusion with the Exchequer proper, I shall in future call the 'works treasury'.

We may now consider the origin of this works treasury, and I go back to 18th November 1245, when Thomas of Newark and the archdeacon were ordered to deliver all moneys held in the church at Westminster, under their seals, and all which they might in future receive, as they received them, to the wardens of the

[1] P.R. 30 Henry III, p. 478.
[2] C.L.R. 30 Henry III, p. 15.
[3] P.R. 30 Henry III, p. 474.
[4] C.R. 30 Henry III, pp. 414–15.

king's works at the same church by view of Edward for the doing of those works.[1] This is the first record of funds allotted to the purpose by the king and an early reference to the use of the abbey as a royal treasury. Some three weeks later (12th December) a further £100 is delivered to Edward out of the money of the Jews for the same works,[2] and a week later 50 marks were to be accounted to the keeper of the exchange which he had handed to the wardens of the works.[3] On 7th January 1246 the king cried the prior of Hurley quit of 80 marks which had been given to the works,[4] and on 30th January a further £100 was delivered from the Exchequer to Edward and the archdeacon.[5]

There is no doubt that the works treasury was now a fact, if not a name, and on 15th February the £3,000 mentioned above was assigned to the works, and Edward was the chief person by whose view and testimony it was to be spent and accounted for to the king. We have seen that some of it was wrongly accepted at the Exchequer, and, as the outcome of the king's orders, we find that on 1st May 1246 the Exchequer delivered to the archdeacon and Edward, keepers of the works of the church, £25 'for a like sum delivered in the Exchequer of the goods of Mokke (Moses) son of Hamo, a Jew of Hereford, which the king gave to those works'.[6] This sum would have been allowed to Mokke in accordance with the writ of 21st April, quoted above.

Further proof that the king's letters patent referred to earlier arrangements may be noted. In February the £60 due from Peter Chaceporc is ordered to be paid to the wardens of the works at the rate of £10 a year, half at Easter and half at Michaelmas. It was a debt that Peter owed to Aaron le Blund and others which the king had taken in hand and assigned to the work.[7] In March the archdeacon and Edward received £53. 6*s*. 8*d*. from the estate of David of Oxford.[8]

It may again be pointed out that Edward and the archdeacon were the treasurers of the works treasury as well as the wardens of the works, and numerous sums which need not be further detailed were paid to them. The large sums assigned did not necessarily reach the works treasury every term in the amounts due, nor were they all that came into its chest. There were numerous deliveries from the treasury, and from time to time a sum might be allocated to Licoricia or Moses which would reduce what was due to the works.

The rebuilding of the church certainly went vigorously forward, judging from the sums allotted to it, and in April 1249 a writ in favour of the wardens of the works was issued for £3,789. 16*s*. 10½*d*. on account of money spent between Easter 1247 and Whitsuntide 1249.[9] This undoubtedly covered sums paid to the wardens on various occasions throughout the period, for which cover was needed at the Exchequer, and had we the works accounts we should find them there.

An earlier writ, in favour of Edward himself, was issued on 17th May 1244, by which he was to receive £1,949. 13*s*. 5½*d*. which he had spent on a new room

[1] C.R. 30 Henry III, p. 370.
[2] C.L.R. 30 Henry III, p. 14.
[3] *Ibid*., p. 17.
[4] C.R. 30 Henry III, p. 381.
[5] C.L.R. 30 Henry III, p. 24.
[6] C.L.R. 30 Henry III, p. 46.
[7] C.R. 30 Henry III, p. 396.
[8] C.L.R. 30 Henry III, p. 34.
[9] C.L.R. 33 Henry III, p. 255.

near the king's hall, the making of a conduit, and other works. This also must have covered various sums delivered to Edward from time to time for the purposes stated.[1]

I come now to surviving accounts associated with the works treasury, and the earliest is for 33 Henry III and is headed 'Receipts of Money after Christmas for the building of the church of the blessed Peter at Westminster'.[2] Many of its items can be traced on the Liberate rolls.

At this period the wardens of the works and the treasurers of the works treasury are Philip Luvel, Edward, the sub-prior (our old friend the archdeacon now being abbot), and master Henry the mason. The first item on the account, which they received, was 500 marks, and it appears in the Liberate roll on 10th July 1249.[3] The next is 100 marks out of the tallage of the city. This is in the Liberate roll dated 8th May 1251, which reads *allocate civibus nostris Londinii in tallagio suo M librorum c marcas quas liberaverunt per preceptum nostrum Edwardo de Westmonasterio clerico nostro et aliis custodibus operacionum nostrarum Westmonasterii die veneris proxima post nativitatem beatae Mariae apud Westmonasterium anno regni regis Henrici xxxiii ad easdem operaciones faciendas*.[4] This is followed by £400 which is found in the Liberate roll dated 2nd October 1249.[5] The next item totals £98. 12*s.* and is in two sums, the smaller, £8. 3*s.*, being for four loads of lead delivered to Windsor.[6] As we shall see, the money that passed through this treasury by no means all went to the works of the church, and, doubtless, was never intended to do so. The last item is another double one made up of £300 allotted to wages and £131. 10*s.* 5½*d.* to purchases, £431. 10*s.* 5½*d.*—which lump sum duly appears in the Liberate roll.[7] These sums were received *de thesaurario*.

At the beginning of the account four items are given as having been paid *de scaccario*, presumably to the wardens of the works, and they are summarized as £733. 6*s.* 8*d.* received between the feast of the Epiphany and Pentecost. One is of 500 marks and may be those covered by a writ of liberate dated 12th May,[8] but this is not certain. The rest I have not yet found. There seems, however, to be a suggestion that the receipts are merely divided into those which came in before and after the body of wardens was strengthened by the inclusion of Philip Luvel and the prior, as the account ends with the statement 'total received in the time of the lord Philip and the prior £1,330. 2*s.* 5½*d.* Total received in the fourth year of the work £2,063. 9*s.* 1½*d.*'

It may be observed that the fourth year of the work was the calendar year 1249, and not the regnal year of the king. That is why funds are described as 'Receipts of money after Christmas', etc. 1246 was the first year. 1245 did not count, as it was probably occupied solely with demolition. Lethaby always felt that work must have started on a clear site, as he mentioned in *Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen*, p. 145.

[1] C.L.R. 20, m. 10 (extra), 28 Henry III.
[2] E 101/466/29.
[3] C.L.R. 33 Henry III, p. 243.
[4] C.L.R. 35 Henry III, roll 27, m. 9.
[5] C.L.R. 33 Henry III, p. 253.
[6] C.L.R. 33 Henry III, pp. 254–5.
[7] C.L.R. 34 Henry III, roll 26, m. 11, and Cal., p. 274.
[8] C.L.R. 33 Henry III, p. 233.

Writs of liberate often covered more than one payment as, for instance, in 1251, when a writ is issued for the delivery to Edward and the other keepers of £280.[1] We find in the account that £173. 9*s.* 5½*d.* was paid on Wednesday after the feast of St. Gregory, £100 on the eve of the Annunciation, and £6. 10*s.* 6½*d.* 'ad ducentas et quatuor viginti libras perficiendas post nativitatem receptas'.

I shall turn now to an account for 1253, the eighth year of the work. It covers eleven weeks before Easter and begins as follows: *compotus diversarum operationum ecclesiae, capituli, berefridi et curiae Westmonasterii, anno regni regis Henrici xxxvii°; operis incepti viii°. Hec est pacatio facta a die sabbati in vigilia purificationis beatae Mariae usque sabbatum in vigilia Paschalis per xi ebdomadas continentes quatuor festa quorum primum est cementariorum secundum regis et sic de singulari ita quod festum paraseve est domini regis anno regni regis Henrici xxxvii°.*[2]

The account continues, without a sub-heading, to state the amounts for wages (*stipendia*) and purchases (*emptiones*) for the works of the church and chapter-house, the total being £480. 18*s.* 5*d.*

Next is the sub-heading *opus berefridi*, and again we get wages and purchases amounting in all to £157. 12*s.* 2*d.* Then we find the sub-heading *opus curiae* on which £21. 2*s.* 9*d.* was spent and, finally, the grand total of £664. 13*s.* 4*d.* is given.

This small document, though apparently complete, is really a part of the works treasury account for the whole of the calendar year 1253, the eighth year of the work, and I think that the serious work of rebuilding was not thought of as being in hand until the site was cleared, and its beginning was coincident with the foundation of the Westminster works treasury. It was always intended that the works treasury should handle funds for all works at Westminster, and the king was doubtless very pleased with what he would regard as a businesslike arrangement.

Returning to our small account, it appears to be the opening part of that of which the larger portion is printed in *Gleanings* and covers the remaining thirty-two working weeks of the year.[3] The latter has no heading or beginning, which suggests that it was meant to have the first part attached to it. When sewn together the two would form a complete document. I hope one day to examine all these accounts in detail, for there is a great deal to be learnt from them; but that cannot be done on this occasion. The document printed in *Gleanings* gives the feasts to the king and masons alternately, as above.

In March 1253, £30 was allowed to the sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk[4] which he had paid to Edward of Westminster, warden of the works, and the treasurer's memoranda roll for 39 Henry III notes 501 marks for the works delivered to Edward by Robert de Valle *per duas tallias*, and duly acknowledged by Edward at the board of the Exchequer. Edward had received the money and spent it on the said works.[5] In August of the same year 50 cartloads of lead were delivered to Edward, warden of the Westminster works,[6] from which it would seem that roofing was in progress.

[1] C.L.R. Henry III, roll 27, m. 12.
[2] E 101/466/30.
[3] E 101/467/1.
[4] C.L.R. 29 m. 8, 37 Henry III.
[5] L.T.R. Mem. R. 30, m. 13.
[6] C.L.R. 31, m. 3, 39 Henry III.

In 1259 Nicholas de Handlon', keeper of the bishopric of Winchester, was ordered to send £60 without delay to Edward of Westminster and the other wardens of the works, as it was urgently needed to pay something on account of arrears of wages,[1] and in the Pipe roll we find Nicholas rendering his account and being allowed the £60 together with 6*s*. 8*d*. which was the cost of sending it to the wardens. It may also be mentioned that in 1259 William of Gloucester, the goldsmith and keeper of the exchange, was to have a seal made for the king in *forma quam delicto clerico nostro Edwardo de Westmonasterio et vobis nuper injunximus*.[2] It is, I think, of considerable interest to find these two men associated in the making of a seal. Some years earlier Edward received 40*s*. for the silver for a seal for Gascony, and 35*s*. to pay for the work.[3] This seal was first used on 12 August 1253, at Cumineys. It may be noted that, as we have seen, Richard Patricius was paid 40*s*. for making a seal out of 50*s*. weight of silver (see above).

An event of the first importance in 1259 was the commission issued on 25th March to Edward of Westminster, the sub-prior and sacristan of the church of Westminster, to receive yearly from Alice de Lacy the money she is bound to pay to the king for the wardenship of her late husband's lands, the money to be applied to the works of the church.[4] The annual sum was £362. 3*s*. 8*d*. and Alice paid very regularly. In addition to Alice's contributions, the same three wardens received, between 1260 and 1262, £600 from various sources, in sums ranging from 50 to 300 marks.[5] It is to be noted that master John of Gloucester, the mason, is not mentioned in this connexion, a fact which bears on the question of the extent of his responsibility. It seems that master workmen had no concern at all with finance save in respect of actual payments for wages or materials.

Tallies

In 1266 Alice was given quittance for £206 paid to Adam de Stratton, king's clerk and keeper of the king's works at Westminster, and for which she had received a tally from the said keeper.[6] In 1269 acknowledgement was made that Alice had delivered to the wardens of the works of Westminster during eleven years, to wit, from 43 to 53 Henry III, £3,754. 15*s*. 8*d*., and for the various sums, it was added, she had received 'the king's letters patent and tallies of the Exchequer of the works at Westminster'[7] which she must surrender at the Exchequer in order to receive quittance. You will note our works treasury has a new name. The actual Latin reads *tall' de scaccario operacionum nostrarum Westm'*, and I have to thank Mr. Jenkinson for checking this. I should also draw attention to the fact that we have moved to a time after Edward's death when his place as works treasurer and warden of the works had passed to Adam de Stratton. We may now turn back.

It will be remembered that some twenty-two years ago our Fellow Mr. Hilary Jenkinson read to the Society a remarkable paper on the subject of tallies.[8] He

[1] C.L.R. 35, m. 11, 43 Henry III and E 372/104.
[2] C.L.R. 35, m. 3, 43 Henry III.
[3] C.L.R. 31, m. 13, 39 Henry III.
[4] P.R. 43 Henry III, p. 19.
[5] C.L.R. 36, m. 9, m. 2; 37, m. 17, m. 11, m. 10; 38, m. 17, m. 10, m. 3.
[6] P.R. 51 Henry III, p. 5.
[7] P.R. 54 Henry III, p. 391.
[8] *Archaeologia*, vol. lxxiv. Mr. Jenkinson's first paper on the tallies appeared in *Archaeologia*, vol. lxii.

dealt mainly with a collection of thirteenth-century tallies which has miraculously survived, and he referred at the end of his paper to a small group of 13 *contra Edwardum de Westmonasterio*. Time did not permit Mr. Jenkinson's going fully into the career of Edward, and, indeed, the evidence which, as I think, firmly associates such tallies (if not the actual survivors) with the works treasury is, as we have seen, found outside purely Edwardian material. We have to follow that treasury beyond Edward's time.

However, having arrived there, a possible explanation of the *contra Edwardum* tallies may be offered for consideration. Sums were paid to the works treasury direct, and the payer must have some receipt. The usual form of receipt was a tally, and here was no exception. We may believe that when Licoricia or Moses paid money into the treasury a tally was cut as it was in the case of Robert de Valle, and the stock handed to the payer as his receipt. These tallies were *contra Edwardum de Westmonasterio*, the king's clerk and chief of the works treasury. The same thing happened no doubt when Nicholas Handlon's messengers delivered the £60, and Nicholas, in accordance with the procedure laid down in the Dialogue, would, when he accounted at the Exchequer, present his writ authorizing him to send the money and his tally of receipt to show that he had delivered it, thereupon securing the allowance of it on his account. A parallel case is the tally the sheriff received when he paid in half his farm at the Easter Exchequer.

Other instances of tallies with which Edward was concerned may be mentioned. In March 1244 the king was anxious to complete a large room for the use of his knights at Westminster, and stone and timber were needed. He ordered the wardens of the works at the Tower, who had some for the works there, to let the treasurer and Edward have it *per talliam et scriptum inter eos confectum*, and they should have it back according to the quantity they delivered.[1]

A year later, in March 1245, the warden of the exchange was to let Edward have silver *per talliam quantum necesse* for two candlesticks and for covering a certain arm that is at Westminster.[2] These tallies would, perhaps, be *contra Edwardum de Westmonasterio*.

Mr. Jenkinson has pointed out the immense part played by the tally in medieval finance and the works treasury seems to have depended solely on them for its receipts. What these *contra Edwardum* tallies bring out into relief is the importance of Edward. He alone appears to have answered for what was received at the treasury, and a tally struck between the payer and him cleared the former if called to account at the Exchequer.

There was probably no sphere in which tallies were not used. In January 1251 the Windsor wine loaders produced tallies, thereby satisfying the king that £4. 4*s*. 11*d*. was still due to them and to Adam the Hooper.[3]

It seems from the 1266 instance (Alice de Lacy) that the payer-in received a tally (stock) which had to be presented at the Exchequer where, presumably, the foil had meanwhile been deposited. May we not therefore believe that, in order to make it clear to the Board of the Exchequer what manner of tally it was, such stocks were marked *contra E. de Westmonasterio*?

[1] C.R. 28 Henry III, p. 167. [2] C.R. 29 Henry III, p. 295. [3] C.L.R. 35 Henry III, p. 328.

When money was delivered to the wardens by a number of instalments, and a writ of liberate eventually issued to cover the total sum, it is reasonably certain that in the meantime tallies were cut for the various payments, and these were possibly *contra Edwardum de Westmonasterio*. They may have been used in the case of the £3,789, and various other sums mentioned above. Edward and his fellow wardens accounted to the king and not to the Exchequer. All that body wanted was cover as regards money for which it was responsible. In such cases, I suggest, the Exchequer held the stocks which were returned to Edward in exchange for the writ.

Where, then, do the thirteen tallies fit into this picture? They are a remarkable collection (pl. IV). Six of them are for round sums, and range between one and three thousands of pounds. Six are for odd sums, of which the biggest is £64. 12*s.* 3*d.* and the smallest £3. 6*s.* 5*d.*; but the latter is incomplete, and Mr. Jenkinson says that it was originally cut for a larger sum. One only has a date. It appears to be for £1,000, and is dated *post pascham anno xxxvi°*. The thirteenth is a fragment with all its notches missing. I can make no suggestions in respect of the identification of these sums with others elsewhere recorded; but I think that, in view of the fact that all of the accounts of the Exchequer of Works save those (incomplete) for the period 1249 to 1253 are missing, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the odd sums might well be found on those accounts if they existed. We have seen that a writ of liberate was issued for £280 which had been received in three instalments noted in the account, and neither the £1,949 nor the £3,789 was likely to have been paid in one sum. It is therefore possible that some at least of these tallies represent money paid in to Works, and are Exchequer of Works tallies, thus partly fulfilling Mr. Jenkinson's suggestion in 1924 that they were for sums received by Edward without a writ (see note at end). The larger sums doubtless belong to some writless category, but are not necessarily amounts for which he eventually had a writ. He may have accounted for them to the king alone, and the study of his activites supports the feeling that he must have carried out a good many affairs for which he accounted to no other. Moreover, the tallies are all stocks, and the above conjectures allow of their preservation at the Exchequer, though they are not Exchequer but Exchequer of Works tallies. The Exchequer, representing the payer, would hold the stocks, and it was among Exchequer records that they were found.[1]

I owe my thanks to Mr. Jenkinson for so very kindly giving me a transcript of the tallies, which I could not have made for myself, and it is further due to his kindness that I have been able to illustrate them (pl. IV).

I doubt if, in Edward's time, tallies cut between Edward and those who paid directly into the works treasury sums which had been assigned thereto ever reached the Exchequer. I suggest that when Alice was required to present her tallies at the

[1] An interesting writ is found in 1252, whereby 1,000 marks are to be delivered to Edward to buy gold for the king. They are described as 'by themselves in the keeping of the treasurer and chamberlains'. The king seems to have had a variety of ideas for the arrangement of his financial affairs (C.L.R. 36 Henry III, 1st August 1252). The document reads 'que sunt in custodia vestra per se ad aurum inde emendum ad opus nostrum' (roll 28, m. 5). The money had been set aside with that particular purpose in view.

Exchequer to receive quittance in 1269, it was an innovation, not older than 1266. Her affairs had not previously concerned the Exchequer. Her entire fine had been assigned to the works, and was to be paid to Edward and his associates. They accounted for it to the king; but Edward's death may have been followed by a change in procedure, and it is at least clear that from 1267 the accounts of the wardens of the works were rendered at the Exchequer and duly enrolled.

Adam of Stratton was high in the king's favour and the king's 'beloved clerk'. He became weigher and clerk at the Exchequer. He seems to have succeeded Edward as warden of works early in 1265. He proved a rogue; but he prospered at first. His fall may mark the end of the slowly dying works treasury. That treasury's great period was 1246 to 1265, during which it might be regarded as a monument to the king's confidence in one who was, perhaps, the most faithful friend and servant that his reckless sovereign ever had.

Edward was alive on 22nd October 1264,[1] but had died before the middle of the following March. Adam of Stratton is described as warden of works on 16th January 1265,[2] and Edward, therefore, may then have been dead or have retired owing to ill health.

On 14th March 1265 the king granted to Peter de Monte Forti that he have his inn quit of livery in the buildings late of Edward de Westmonasterio, which suggests that Edward's death had taken place at least a few weeks earlier. The reference is, I think, to Edward's home which, as we have seen, his son sold to the archdeacon of York. It was probably situated in King Street, near York House, the property of the northern primate, and therefore stood on the site of the later Whitehall Palace.

In August 1265 protection was granted until the following Easter to the executors of Edward's will.[3] There are several references to Edward's affairs in the Memoranda rolls. William of Gloucester, the goldsmith, and Richard de Pontalibus were two of his executors. They were ordered to see that the king had what was due to him from Edward's estate, and they themselves were to have their reasonable expenses.[4] Edward left a considerable property, one item being valued at 600 marks, equal, I suppose, to nearly £20,000 of pre-war money.[5] The Memoranda rolls are not easy going, and I have no doubt that there is more to be got out of them.

There is no doubt, at least, that when Edward's story is fully told, it will provide not merely a chapter in respect of Westminster building; but a very important, illuminating, and new chapter in thirteenth-century administrative history, and much that has been written will need revision in its light.

Note. At the time this paper was read, Mr. Jenkinson said that he still felt that the tallies *contra Edwardum* were, as he had suggested in 1924, for sums for which Edward never had a writ.

[1] P.R. 48 Henry III, p. 354.
[2] C.R. 49 Henry III, p. 14.
[3] P.R. 49 Henry III, p. 440.
[4] E 368/39, m. 10d. at the P.R.O.
[5] E 368/40, m. 6d. at the P.R.O.

THE ARCHBISHOP'S THREE SEATS IN CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

By the Rev. C. S. Phillips, D.D.

The question 'Where did the Archbishop of Canterbury sit in pre-Reformation times when officially present at divine service in his cathedral?' is one which has had no very clear answer hitherto. There can be no dispute that his 'throne' *par excellence*—the sign and symbol of his episcopal and primatial dignity—was the so-called 'St. Augustine's chair' still in use at archiepiscopal enthronements—really a marble chair of early-thirteenth-century date (hereafter to be called the Marble Chair); or that a similar throne in the same position, viz. the old 'basilican' position of the bishop's throne behind the high altar, existed in the earlier choirs of Lanfranc and Conrad. But under the conditions which prevailed when the choir was rebuilt after the fire of 1174 this throne, however impressive symbolically, must have had such drawbacks from other points of view as to make it hard to believe that the occasions when the archbishop actually occupied it were more than very rare.

These drawbacks would not exist in the Anglo-Saxon church or in that of Lanfranc. The former was very small; and it would make little practical difference *where* the archbishop sat. Actually his throne was in the western apse—at first the only apse there was; and here it remained when the building was extended and an eastern apse added, containing the high altar. In Lanfranc's church the throne was transferred to the east end, standing in the apse behind the high altar; but the presbytery was very short and the throne probably only slightly raised above the general ground level. The situation, however, was changed after Conrad's choir was completed in 1130; for now the choir was much longer, thus setting the archbishop on his throne at a considerable distance from the monks in choir, while the throne itself was raised on eight steps. Of this throne Gervase tells us that 'behind the altar and facing it was the patriarchal chair made of a single stone, on which the archbishops . . . were wont to sit on principal feasts during the solemnization of mass until the consecration [the beginning of the Canon immediately after the Offertory is evidently meant], for then they descended to the altar by eight steps'.[1] On such occasions (we may infer) the archbishop himself celebrated. Where he sat when he merely assisted at mass or was present at the choir offices we are not told. But it is certainly implied that he did *not* sit in the 'patriarchal chair'.

The problem was intensified when the choir was again rebuilt after the fire of 1174. To begin with, the presbytery was made longer still; while the number of steps leading up to the throne was increased from eight to ten, thus making movement to and from the high altar more inconvenient than ever to one who was often an old man. The existing Marble Chair belongs to this period, its date being fixed by three entries in the Treasurer's accounts of payments made to the *carpentarius* (not 'the carpenter', but the monk charged with the oversight of building opera-

[1] Gervase of Canterbury, *Historical Works* (Rolls Series), vol. i, p. 13.

tions[1]) *pro sede archiepiscopi*—£4 in 1201–2, £8. 8*s*. 0*d*. in 1202–3, and £5. 6*s*. 8*d*. in 1203–4.[2] But now (at least after 1220) the ten steps led up not only to the archbishop's throne but also to the shrine of St. Thomas, which was set in the new Trinity Chapel forming the easternmost portion of the church, with the throne directly in front of it on the same level.

The result (it is natural to assume) was to create at Canterbury a situation which had for a long time been progressively coming into existence elsewhere. In early days the custom was for the bishop to celebrate mass standing in front of his throne in the apse and facing the people—just as the Pope still does when officiating in St. Peter's. The custom of facing east, not west, appears to have begun in the eighth to ninth century and to have been closely connected with the very cause that was now coming into operation at Canterbury—i.e. the erection of a shrine behind and above the high altar.[3] Where the shrine or shrines were in a *confessio beneath* the altar (as at San Ambrogio at Milan) no difficulty arose; and the archbishop of Milan still celebrates mass there from his throne in the apse. We may assume that Lanfranc, Anselm, and Becket did the same—and for a similar reason.[4] But the case was altogether different after the setting up of St. Thomas's shrine; for now the archbishop could not celebrate facing west—or even sit on his throne at all—except by turning his back on the saint and even appearing to exhibit himself as a rival object of interest.

It would thus scarcely surprise us to find that the archbishop did not sit in the Marble Chair more than was absolutely necessary; and indeed the official account of the enthronement of Archbishop Winchelsey suggests that this had already come to be the case by the year 1295. On that occasion, immediately after his enthronement in the Marble Chair by the prior, the mass of the Holy Spirit was begun, and the new archbishop 'standing in front of his chair turning to the east began *Gloria in excelsis*. . . . But after the saying of the Offertory he descended from his chair and came in front of the high altar . . . and from there finished mass, *nor did he that day return to his chair*.'[5] Two points, at any rate, are clear: first, that the archbishop now said mass facing east, not west; and secondly, that he did not

[1] See article by Mr. J. H. Harvey in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. lviii (1945), p. 35.

[2] Probably the old throne had perished in the fire. *Domesday Monachorum* (f. 7 *b*), in recounting the 'incident' on Palm Sunday when Prior Alan threatened to withdraw himself and his monks if an excommunicated knight did not leave the church, tells how the archbishop was 'celebrating mass and after the collect was sitting in the usual manner in his *cathedra near the horn of the altar*'. Then, 'as the subdeacon finished the epistle and the cantors were beginning the gradual', the prior made his protest. This was in 1181—just a year after the monks took possession of the partially rebuilt choir on Easter Eve, 1180. The *cathedra* mentioned was presumably a temporary affair, used pending the construction of the eastern portion of the choir and the provision of a new throne in the former basilican position. But the resulting practice, continued over a long period, might help to account for the sparing use of the Marble Chair when it came into being.

[3] Dix, *Shape of the Liturgy*, p. 591.

[4] In Conrad's choir the shrines of the two then chief saints—Dunstan and Alphege—flanked the high altar on either side. Their position in Lanfranc's choir is not known, but it can hardly have been *behind* the high altar. In the Anglo-Saxon cathedral Dunstan's body was 'buried at a great depth in the ground in front of the steps' leading from the choir of the singers up to the presbytery. See Eadmer as quoted in Gervase of Canterbury in his tract 'De combustione et reparatione Cantuariensis ecclesiae', *Historical Works*, vol. i, p. 7 f.

[5] Register Q, f. 26 *b*.

follow the custom usual elsewhere (and, as we know definitely, followed by the Archbishop of York at *his* enthronement[1]) and return to his throne for the concluding portion of mass.

It is possible, no doubt, that at this period the archbishop still occupied the Marble Chair when he officiated on specially important occasions. But it is hard to believe that this continued to be the case for long after Prior Eastry set up (1320–30) the reredos above the high altar which was the humbler predecessor of Prior Chillenden's magnificent silver gilt *tabula* erected 1394–1400. The effect of either of these would be to blot out the archbishop sitting on his throne from public view altogether—except perhaps the top of his head. Indeed it is unlikely that such a reredos could have been even contemplated at all unless the custom of the archbishop occupying the Marble Chair had already fallen into abeyance.[2]

In view of all this the present writer ventures to state his belief that during at least the two last centuries before the Reformation the archbishop never sat in the Marble Chair at all except at his enthronement. This was pretty certainly the case after the Reformation; and in this respect it would seem that the archbishops were doing no more than following the example set by their later medieval predecessors. No evidence to the contrary seems to be forthcoming, and all the probabilities of the situation are in favour of this view. Thus it is tempting to think that the Marble Chair had come to stand to the English Primacy in very much the same relation in which the Coronation Chair at Westminster stood and still stands to the English Monarchy. It was a supreme symbol of office and authority—and, as such, was occupied when the rightful owner was put into formal possession of these, and not again. An interesting (though only partial) parallel is the case of the bishop of Autun in France. He too had a stone chair (*sedes lapidea*) in the partially destroyed cathedral, standing in the old basilican position behind the high altar. Into this (Martène tells us) he was solemnly put when he took possession of his see, though normally he officiated in the pro-cathedral of Saint Lazare.[3] It may be added that the invisibility of the archbishop behind the reredos would be no such serious drawback at his enthronement as it would have been at any ordinary mass; for on this occasion the most important of those present—the bishops and the magnates of the realm—were ranged round the Marble Chair; while the fact that the general public could not see the proceedings would impart to them an atmosphere of mystery which would be increased by the close proximity of the shrine of the martyred archbishop whose mantle his successor now inherited.

Had the archbishop, then, an alternative seat? And, if so, in what relation did this seat (which it is not necessary to dignify with the title of 'throne') stand to the *stall* in choir which he presumably occupied (as the bishop did in all monastic cathedrals) in his capacity as the titular abbot of the foundation?[4]

[1] *York Pontifical* (Surtees Society), p. 373.

[2] If (as seems likely), besides and behind the *tabulae* of the high altar and the altars of St. Alphege and St. Dunstan on either side of it, there was also an altar-screen with two doors (as still at Westminster Abbey) running the whole width of the presbytery, the archbishop's eclipse would have been still more complete!

[3] Martène, *Voyage littéraire de deux Bénédictins*, vol. i, p. 157.

[4] On this subject see Prof. David Knowles, *The Monastic Orders in England*, pp. 619 ff.

In trying to find an answer to these questions we may begin by setting down the *normal* arrangements in a monastic cathedral. We cannot do this better than in the authoritative words of Dr. A. Hamilton Thompson in his *Cathedral Churches of England*:

1. 'In monastic cathedral churches the upper stall on the south side next the choir doorway was reserved for the bishop, who nominally took the place of an abbot: in the corresponding stall on the north side sat the prior, the real head of the monastery' (p. 119).
2. 'Between the end of the choir and the upper choir-gate on the south side was the bishop's throne. This was to be found in monastic as well as secular churches: for the abbot's stall, which at Ely, however, was his only seat, was assigned to the bishop merely as the honorary chief of the monastery, not as ruler of the diocese' (p. 120).

It may be added that this arrangement would appear to have come into use in the course of the thirteenth century in place of the older one by which the bishop's throne (as still at Norwich) was behind the high altar.[1]

How far were these arrangements followed at Canterbury? Let us deal first with the second point, concerning the bishop's seat or throne at the east end of the choir on the south side.

1. As we have said, the archbishop's 'throne' *par excellence* was and remained the Marble Chair at the top of the steps behind the high altar. But it is unquestionable that he had a second seat in exactly the position of the bishop's throne in other cathedrals—a seat known as the Wooden Chair (*sedes lignea*) in designed antithesis to the Marble Chair (*sedes marmorea*). This is put beyond doubt by an entry in the Canterbury monk Stone's *Chronicle* concerning Archbishop Kempe's death (1454), stating that he was buried (his tomb is still there to make the description clear) 'near the gate [i.e. the south choir-gate] between the seat of the archbishop and the tomb of Archbishop Stratford'[2]—in other words, the seat in question was exactly where the Howley Throne stands to-day. Similarly we are told that the Bulls of Pope Innocent VIII confirming the election of Archbishop Morton (1486) were read to the people 'in the wooden chair of the lord archbishop in the upper part of the choir on the south side by Dom John Langdon, a monk of the aforesaid church'.[3] Further, it would appear that this seat was already in existence in 1295, for the previously quoted account of Archbishop Winchelsey's enthronement tells how at the beginning of the service, while the pallium lay on the high altar and *Te Deum* was sung, the archbishop 'went apart to his wooden seat in choir' (*ad sedem suam ligneam in choro declinavit*).[4] There is no mention of his being formally installed in it—the only 'enthronement' is the putting of the archbishop into the Marble Chair by the prior. Here, at the top of the ten steps, 'the King, standing close by the aforesaid chair with many nobles of the realm, awaited the archbishop; and in their presence the prior reverently received the archbishop into his arms and enthroned him in the chair'.[5] Stone's account of Archbishop Stafford's enthronement (1443) shows that the procedure was identical a century and a half later. Just before mass 'the prior received him and put him into the chair and installed

[1] See Dix, as above.
[2] Stone's *Chronicle* (ed. W. G. Searle), p. 59.
[3] *Sede Vacante Scrap-Book*, i. 85.
[4] Register Q, f. 26 *b*.
[5] *Ibid.*

him; and he was in it until after the Offertory'.[1] It was the same too at the enthronement of Kempe (1452)[2] and of Bourchier (1454).[3] Not apparently until after the Reformation was the archbishop installed in the Wooden Chair as well as in the Marble Chair—as Grindal (or rather his proxy) in 1575.[4] A further innovation was that the ceremony was now performed not by the dean (the prior's successor as head of the chapter), but by the archdeacon.[5] Only in a time of transition and confusion could such a case of 'jumping a claim' (based in any case on a false analogy) have taken place. Certainly a medieval prior of Canterbury would have died ten times over rather than have allowed himself to be thus supplanted. It may be added that the distinction between the Wooden Chair as 'diocesan' and the Marble Chair as 'metropolitical' is a nineteenth-century flight of fancy.[6]

As a matter of fact, Winchelsey actually sat in the Wooden Chair six months before he was enthroned, when he was received by the convent on his return from Italy, where he had been consecrated. After a procession to the shrine of St. Thomas the new archbishop 'returned to the Wooden Chair, and the monks having resumed their habits to their stalls in choir'.[7] The distinction makes it clear that the Wooden Chair was a *seat* (*sedes*) and not a *stall* (*stallus*); and that it already occupied its later position is suggested by a statement that when Winchelsey was present in choir at mattins on Christmas Eve he 'sang the eighth respond upon the pavement where the epistle is read at high mass'[8]—which an account of Prior Wodnysbergh's funeral in 1428[9] shows to have been at the east end of the choir proper, just in front of the cantors' desk and conveniently close to the Wooden Chair.

If this interpretation be correct, it is natural to conclude that the Wooden Chair was where the archbishop normally sat when pontificating at the choir offices. Was it the same at high mass? We have given our reasons for supposing that he did not occupy the Marble Chair. On the other hand, the Wooden Chair was rather far away. It is tempting to surmise that he may have had a seat of some kind near the high altar for use during those portions of the mass when he was not actually standing in front of it. Some such seat is certainly suggested by Stone's statement in connexion with the appointment of a new prior that 'there was mass of the Holy

[1] Stone's *Chronicle*, p. 34.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 62. The *Officium enthronizationis Archiepiscopi*, etc., contained in the Bangor and Exeter Pontificals (late 15th cent.) and printed in Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia*, vol. iii, pp. 292 ff., reproduces the order outlined in Register Q above; with the addition that the archbishop at his enthronement and the mass following is to be attended by 'three cardinal deacons and three cardinal subdeacons', 'but he shall not have cardinal priests, because of the press of people round the altar'. See below, p. 31 and note. The term 'cardinals' for the pontifical assistants was common in France. See Dom Denys Buenner, *L'Ancienne Liturgie romaine: Le rite lyonnais*, p. 270.

[4] MS. volume of Formulae, No. 1, f. 117.

[5] In this respect Grindal's enthronement had a somewhat 'mixed' character. The archdeaconry was vacant at the time. The royal mandate was addressed to the archdeacon, 'if there is one'; and if the archdeaconry is vacant, to the dean and chapter. The dean and chapter appointed the vice-dean, William Darrell, as *their* proctor to perform the enthronement, and not as the archdeacon's proctor.

[6] See order of service at Archbishop Tait's and Archbishop Benson's enthronements.

[7] Register Q, f. 25 *b*.

[8] *Ibid.*, f. 28 *b*.

[9] Printed in Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa* (London, 1735), vol. ii, p. 6.

Spirit at the high altar, and during mass the archbishop [Stafford] heard mass in front of the altar of St. Dunstan';[1] and that on a similar occasion he 'had mass of the Holy Spirit in choir and during mass he had mass at the altar of St. Dunstan'.[2] But, however it may have been when the archbishop merely 'heard mass', it seems unlikely that he occupied any seat of the kind when actually celebrating a pontifical high mass; for on such occasions he was wont to be attended by numerous assistants (it was evidently a case of 'maimed rites' when Archbishop Winchelsey celebrated on Christmas Day *cum tribus dyaconis et tribus subdyaconis tantum*[3]); and it is hard to see where sufficient space could have been provided for such a company nearer the high altar than the choir crossing, in which case there would be little point in not using the Wooden Chair. The deep platform on which the high altar then stood (at the foot of the ten steps) would be largely taken up by the altar itself and by the two *viciniora altaria* of St. Alphege and St. Dunstan flanking it on either side; and the lower platform (now gone) between what were then the *two* lowest flights of steps[4] would have been far too shallow. It seems most likely then that on such occasions the archbishop used the Wooden Chair as his 'throne'.

The Wooden Chair disappeared long ago, but it does not seem impossible to get some idea of what it was like. In view of its secondary importance there was no need for it to be a large and elaborate affair. There was apparently no permanent wooden canopy over it, but a 'cloth of estate' that could be set up as required. In the cathedral inventory under date 1540 appears the entry, 'One Canopie of silke baudekyn and golde to hang over the busshop'[5] (*sic*); and again in 1584—presumably the same article—'A Canopy for my L. Archbisshop his seat of Reed Caffay [i.e. damask] spangd with birdes of golde', along with 'ii longe Reed staves for tharchbisshop his seat'[6]—doubtless to support the canopy. The seat itself (or at least the ruin of it) appears to have long survived the Reformation; for writing in 1640 the antiquary Somner says, 'Above these stalls [i.e. to the east of the choir-stalls] on the south side of the Quire, stands the Archbishop's wooden seat or chaire, sometime richly guilt and otherwise well set forth, but now nothing specious through age and late neglect. It is a close seat made after the fashion of such stalls, called thence *Faldistoria*.'[7] To which Somner has added in his own interleaved copy this note: 'Only in this they differ; that they [i.e. the faldstools] were moveable, this is fixt.' Six years before, the inventory of 1634 had scheduled 'A Canopie of red satten and two postes of wood to support it with 4 Iron pinns for the seate for ye Lo. Arch-bishop to hang over',[8] which no doubt had reference to it.

Seventeen years after Somner wrote (in 1657) Thomas Johnson made his picture

[1] Stone, p. 39.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

[3] The exact force of *tantum* is uncertain in the absence of further evidence. Does it mean that the full ceremonial prescribed two 'cardinal priests' in addition to the three deacons and three subdeacons (see p. 30 above, note)? Or that (as in the case of the archbishop's fellow Primate of Lyons) the proper number was not three but seven (see Dom D. Buenner, *op. cit.*, pp. 261 ff.)?

[4] See Johnson's picture (painted in 1657), reproduced in *Archaeologia*, lxii (1911), p. 353. At this time the medieval arrangement of the steps presumably still remained.

[5] Legg and Hope, *Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury*, p. 191.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 240, 241.

[7] Somner, *Antiquities of Canterbury* (1st ed. 1640), p. 169.

[8] Legg and Hope, p. 256.

of the choir looking east from the choir-screen.[1] The perspective makes it difficult to be quite sure; but it certainly looks as if in the place where the Wooden Chair had stood is a long desk, with a form (rather than a seat) behind it. Might it not be that the desk was that at which the archbishop and his chaplains had formerly knelt; but that the Wooden Chair itself had been removed in consequence of the abolition of episcopacy by the Long Parliament in 1645? This, of course, is no more than a suggestion. Nor have we any positive evidence that Somner's 'wooden chaire' survived the Commonwealth, or was put back in its old place after the Restoration. Yet there is no record of a successor having been provided; and an entry in the 1662 inventory scheduling 'Mourning for ye Pulpit and for the Arcbishop's [*sic*] seat'[2] certainly suggests (in view of the short time that had elapsed since 1660) that it had been called in for service again. A further inventory entry (dated 1689) describes 'the furniture of the archbishop's seat' (kept 'in the Vestry') in a fashion which certainly seems to fit it, and also suggests that there was a good deal of shabbiness that needed to be covered up! 'One purple pendant vallance with a deepe fring' is presumably 'the canopy' for which 'fower gilded supporters' are provided. 'Another [vallance] of the same hanging before the seate' may have served to conceal deficiencies, along with 'a large satten cushion flowed with gold with fower gold Tassells to lay upon the seate'. Here 'seate' apparently means the desk, for there is 'a large purple velvitt cushion with fower silk purple Tassells to sitt on'. 'Two cushions more of purple sattin flowed with gold, one long the other square', were presumably for His Grace's chaplains; and 'one watered curtaine', we may conclude, protected the whole group of personages from draughts.[3]

Even if the Wooden Chair survived the Commonwealth, its existence certainly came to an end in 1704, when Archbishop Tenison's throne (attributed to Grinling Gibbons) was set up on its site. This was a much more imposing affair, with tall Corinthian columns of oak and a lofty canopy; and in its pompous and thoroughly eighteenth-century presence the Marble Chair, though still standing in its old place at the top of the steps behind the high altar,[4] must have shrunk more and more into being a mere antiquarian relic. After Burroughs's heavy oak altar-screen was put up in 1733 it virtually ceased to be visible from the choir; and the final doom came in 1826, when it was removed from the position which it had occupied for over six hundred years (and its predecessor for another six hundred) and banished to the south-east transept, in order to make room for the high altar, which was now raised from the bottom to the top of the ten steps that had led up to the Marble Chair. Then, in 1846, the Tenison throne in turn gave way to the present Howley Throne (so called from the donor, Archbishop Howley)—a roomy Gothic erection of stone with a lofty spired canopy, which was evidently modelled on the 'full-dress' medieval pattern of an episcopal throne, as the old Wooden Chair had never been.

2. The Wooden Chair was in the choir (i.e. the choir proper) just west of the crossing: *sedes lignea in choro*. But if Canterbury was as other monastic cathedrals,

[1] See above, p. 31.
[2] Legg and Hope, p. 277.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 284.
[4] A visitor to the cathedral in 1634 had described it as at that time 'covered with sky-coloured velvet'. Quoted in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1858, vol. ii, p. 485. Perhaps a Laudian embellishment.

the archbishop had also a *stall* in the main upper range as titular abbot. In this connexion it is interesting to note the arrangements at St. Augustine's abbey 'over the way'. The Customary of St. Augustine's makes it clear that the abbot had three seats in his church—two in choir and a *cathedra prope altare* (complete with steps) from which he gave the blessing at mass. In respect of the two former he is described as standing *inferius in stallo suo* and *superius in sede sua* respectively.[1] The inference is obvious that the former was a *stall* at the west end of the choir on the south side, and the latter a *seat* at its east end. This conclusion seems to provide further confirmation for what analogy with other monastic cathedrals would in any case lead us to expect: that in addition to the Wooden Chair the archbishop had also a stall at the west end of the choir—a stall which is presumably the *stallus inferior* referred to in Stone's account of a visit of the Duke of Burgundy's ambassadors, who at high mass and vespers on Easter Day *steterunt in stallo juxta stallum inferiorem domini archiepiscopi in choro.*[2] It is necessary to stress this point because it has been maintained that at Canterbury the archbishop's *stall* was at the *east* end of the choir, not the west (as in other monastic cathedrals), with the prior's stall occupying the corresponding position on the opposite (north) side. But in the case of so anomalous an arrangement the *onus probandi* obviously lies with those who support it, not with their critics. In point of fact, there does not seem to be any evidence for it whatever, apart from a statement by Dart[3] in 1723, which is without any authority and is clearly based on a confusion of the *stallus in choro* with the *sedes lignea in choro*. To begin with, it is certain that the Wooden Chair was at the east end; and this in itself makes it improbable that the abbatial stall was there too; for in that case the two seats would have adjoined one another, and what would be the point of having both? But, further, in Johnson's picture of 1657 the two easternmost, on the north and south sides respectively, of Prior Eastry's thirteenth-century stalls (which were still in existence then) have no *differentia* of any sort to mark them off from the rest; whereas it is certain that the eastern face of the western choir-screen displayed stone canopies over precisely those places where bishop and prior would normally have their stalls in a monastic cathedral, viz. next to the choir doorway on either side. The viewpoint of Johnson's picture did not allow him to show this end of the choir; and the canopies (or what remains of them) are now covered up by the stalls erected after the Restoration (1682). But, in giving the results of a careful examination in a report to the dean and chapter on the reseating of the choir (1875), Sir Gilbert Scott spoke of the choir-screen as 'being intercepted in the centre, not only by the doorway, but by the first or official stalls on either side, *which, unlike all the others, have had overhanging canopies of stone, now cut away*[4]. . . .' We may thus assert with complete confidence that, at Canterbury as elsewhere, the archbishop's and the prior's stalls in choir were return-stalls against the choir-screen and facing east, the one on the right, the other on the left, of the choir entrance.

[1] *Customary of St. Augustine's Abbey*, i. 45 ff.

[2] Stone, p. 108.

[3] *History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury*, p. 30.

[4] Sir Gilbert supposed wrongly that these canopied stalls were for the prior and sub-prior respectively. Cf. *Arch. Journ.* xxxii, 86 f.

This view is further supported by the directions concerning the installation of a new prior given in Somner's Appendix: 'And when he is come into the choir the archbishop shall immediately install the prior in his stall on the northern side; which done, let the prior prostrate himself upon the desk. Afterwards the archbishop in the *first* choir stall on the south side shall wait until *Te Deum* is sung through.'[1] 'First' in what order—from the west or the east? A rubric in the 'Burnt Breviary' of Canterbury Cathedral[2] dealing with usage at funerals seems to give the clue. 'The corpse shall be placed [i.e. ordinarily] under the tower outside the choir-gate. And if the person be important (*solempnis*), it shall be placed inside the choir-gate between the *first* blocks of desks; if very important (*solempnior*), it shall stand between the middle blocks', etc. Obviously here *primus* means 'first from the west', and this also seems to be implied in a direction on the next leaf that 'the two priests who are to bury the corpse shall stand in the *first* place of the lower choir' [i.e. the lower rows of stalls on either side]—in other words, just inside the choir-screen, a very likely place. On this supposition, too, Stone is readily intelligible in saying that the bishop of Terni at vespers 'stood in the *last* stall of the seniors [who occupied the *superior chorus* or upper stalls] on the archbishop's side'[3] —i.e. the easternmost upper stall on the south side immediately adjoining the Wooden Chair.

We are to imagine then the prior, immediately after his installation, occupying his return stall on the north side, and the archbishop his on the south side of the choir entrance. The prior, for his part, never sat anywhere else but in his stall; and if there was a visitor of abbatial rank he was apparently placed next to him, as when 'the abbot of Abingdon stood next the prior on his left hand'[4] [i.e. in the second return stall on the north side]. The archbishop, however, would seem to have usually occupied not the abbatial stall but the Wooden Chair; and an episcopal visitor would be placed in close proximity to this. The case of the bishop of Terni has been mentioned above; and another instance is that of the archbishop of Reims, who 'stood in a stall next the archbishop's stall, to wit, [the one] near the altar'.[5] This can only apply to the Wooden Chair; and suggests that *stallus* can be used for *sedes*, but not vice versa—cf. Somner above. It is natural, therefore, to assume that the Wooden Chair is also meant when the archbishop of Tarentum on Christmas Eve 'stood in a stall in choir next the archbishop's stall',[6] and when the archbishop of Narbonne at vespers 'stood in the stall next the lord archbishop of Canterbury's stall, and next to him stood the Earl of Warwick and the Bastard of Bourbon'.[7] But the clearest case of all is that of the duke of Burgundy's ambassadors, who on Holy Saturday 'stood next the archbishop's stall near the altar',[8] i.e. the Wooden

[1] Somner, *op. cit.*, Appendix XIX, p. 452 (ed. 1640).

[2] Preserved in the Cathedral library. Date *c.* 1375. Partially destroyed 1670, but considerable parts of it survive.

[3] Stone, p. 77.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 77.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 99. The archbishop of Narbonne accompanied Warwick and Bourbon on their return from a mission to the king of France. The two laymen also visited Canterbury on their outward journey and were present at vespers. 'However, they did not stand in the stalls, but in front of the stall of the lord archbishop' (*ibid.*)—i.e. presumably the Wooden Chair again.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 107.

Chair; though (as we have seen) on Easter Day they were put 'in a stall next the archbishop's lower stall in choir', i.e. the abbatial stall—presumably because the ceremonies of so great a day left no room near the Wooden Chair, especially if at high mass the archbishop was pontificating from it surrounded by his train of deacons and subdeacons.

It seems clear, then, that the archbishop, like his presumed imitator, the abbot of St. Augustine's, had two seats *in choro*—his *stallus* (*inferior*) at the west end of the choir, and the Wooden Chair at its east end in the usual position of a bishop's throne. A similar arrangement existed in the metropolitical church of Lyons, where Martène's diagram assigns to the archbishop two seats in addition to his throne behind the high altar—one at the east end of the stalls on the south side of the choir, marked *thronum archiepiscopi ad matutinas et vesperas et ad concionandum*; the other, the second return stall on the *north* side (there would be no abbatial stall, for monastic cathedrals were peculiar to England), marked *sedem archiepiscopi non celebrantis*.[1] Some such distinction may well have prevailed at Canterbury too, except when the archbishop 'celebrated' *qua* titular abbot at the installation of a prior, as in the case considered above. It is at least possible (though the point should certainly not be pressed) that it is implied in the 'however' in Stone's account of high mass on the Sunday within the Octave of the Translation of St. Thomas in 1470, when Prior Oxney 'celebrated high mass in St. Thomas's chasuble, and the lord archbishop [Bourchier] was at high mass; however, he stood in his stall in choir',[2] i.e. his abbatial stall at the west end, as he was present merely as a worshipper. But it might have been the Wooden Chair—Stone's use of *tamen* is often confusing.

Had he any other seat? As we have seen, the two passages from Stone describing the appointment of a new prior suggest that there may have been some provision of the kind *coram altari sancti Dunstani*, i.e. to the right of the high altar. We may note too that during a visit previous to the one already mentioned the archbishop of Tarentum at vespers 'stood *in* (not "next") the archbishop's stall or seat towards the high altar'.[3] But in both cases the description might apply to the Wooden Chair, which *was* 'in front of St. Dunstan's altar' (if rather far away), and need not have been regarded as sacrosanct like the Marble Chair—in any case, the archbishop of Tarentum was in England on a special mission from the Pope. This interpretation seems to be supported by Stone's statement that at a later installation (that of Prior Oxney in 1468) Archbishop Bourchier 'had mass of the Holy Spirit in choir, and at the time of mass the aforesaid archbishop stood in his stall in choir'[4] —where presumably the Wooden Chair is meant.

If this supposition be correct, we have still to explain the 'chaire of wood covered with crymsen velvet and the pomells and handells therof garnished with silver' which Dugdale and the inventories reveal as having been purloined by Henry VIII in 1540 for his own use.[5] There is no mention of its having been for the use of the

[1] Martène, *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, vol. i, col. 364.

[2] Stone, p. 112.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

[5] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* i. 67. Cf. Legg and Hope, p. 183.

archbishop. But it was evidently a costly and magnificent affair and might well have been occupied on occasion either by him, or by a monarch or other exalted person visiting the cathedral (e.g. the Emperor Charles V). Indeed, after the Reformation (it would be hardly conceivable before), it looks very much as if the Marble Chair itself was temporarily removed to the archbishop's palace for Queen Elizabeth to sit in at a banquet in honour of her birthday![1] However, the exact purpose of the chair stolen by Henry VIII must remain a mystery in default of further evidence.

In any case, the existence of the three main seats—the Marble Chair behind the high altar, the Wooden Chair at the east end of the choir, and the abbatial stall against the screen at its west end—seems proved beyond reasonable doubt; and it is interesting to note that all three (or their successors) still make their appearance in the ceremonial of a modern enthronement. It would be idle, however, to deny that that ceremonial has lost much of the clear-cut significance and balance which should belong to it. The monastic side of the cathedral passed away at the Reformation; and with it passed the archbishop's abbatial status and so the original meaning of his abbatial stall. Henceforth, too, this stall was occupied by the dean, instead of the corresponding one on the opposite side of the choir which had been that of the dean's medieval equivalent, the prior; and this still further confused the meaning of the archbishop's installation in it. As for the Wooden Chair and the Marble Chair, these have to a large degree exchanged places, the one gaining what the other has lost. The enthronement *par excellence* is now performed at the Howley Throne, itself so much bigger and grander than the old unobtrusive Wooden Chair, its ancestor. It is there that the bishops of the province, the clergy of the diocese, and the great ones of the realm are assembled as witnesses, and no longer around the Marble Chair. For centuries the latter on its lofty platform behind the high altar embodied a tradition that stretched back to St. Augustine and beyond him to the days of the early Church. But after the Reformation its significance and prestige steadily waned—indeed by then the whole business of enthronement had come to matter so little that most of the archbishops could not be troubled to come to Canterbury for it, but went through the formalities by proxy! Lonely and forlorn, eclipsed later by Tenison's classical swagger, it lingered on its old exalted site until the day when it could be swept into a corner without a protest or a sigh from anyone. . . . To-day, at enthronements at least, it is once more given a prominent place. But that place is in the 'outer courts' of the nave, far away from presbytery and high altar, and the ceremony associated with it is of a purely secondary character, however impressive pictorially and even symbolically that ceremony may be.

[1] Woodruff and Danks, *Memorials of Canterbury Cathedral*, p. 305.

BELGIC BRONZES AND POTTERY FOUND AT FELMERSHAM-ON-OUSE, BEDFORDSHIRE

By W. WATSON

THE find of pottery and bronzes described in this paper was made in Catuvellaunian territory (fig. 1), on the north bank of the Ouse near Felmersham Bridge, in Shanbrook parish, Bedfordshire. At this place the river makes a gentle bend southwards towards the village of Felmersham. Following the Belgic predilection for riverine settlement, the site to which the find belongs was established on well-developed flood-plain gravels situated on the inner margin of this curve. Here in January 1942, from the gravel-digging exploited by Mr. A. E. C. Howard of Bedford, the excavating machine simultaneously disgorged the following objects:

A bronze bucket-handle and two bronze bucket-escutcheons in the shape of cow-heads (fig. 2).
A bronze spout in the shape of a fish-head (fig. 3).
A damaged bronze bowl (no. 1) with one of the two original attachments for holding swinging ring-handles (pl. VII, *a*, *b*).
Fragments of another bowl (no. 2), including parts of the rim and shoulder (pl. VII, *c*).
A flat plate of thin bronze, in shape the segment of a circle, with traces of solder on both sides (pl. VI, *b*).
Three pieces of curved bronze rim-mounting of U-section (pl. VI, *a*).
Three pieces of flat bronze ribbon and an irregular piece of bronze plate of the same thinness (pl. VI, *a*).
Some thirty potsherds, the lower jaw of a young pig, part of the tibia of another young animal, probably a horse, and some pieces of burnt clay (fig. 11).

The association of these objects was vouched for by the workmen employed at the gravel-pit, but the detailed circumstances of the find cannot be ascertained. The find-spot was described by the workmen as a 'barrow', seen as a *cavity* in the gravel several feet deep, with filling of distinctive colour. From one of several such cavities destroyed by the mechanical excavator the bronzes listed above were produced. Together with the bronzes the workmen preserved a number of potsherds which they said were found in the same cavity. These represent a homogeneous series of pot-types assignable to the first half of the first century A.D., and since the bronzes have their analogies in the same period, it is intrinsically probable that the alleged association of metal and potsherds is genuine. But at other points of the gravel-pit Romano-British potsherds of dates as late as the middle of the second century were produced, so that it would be wrong in the interests of dating to press the not-unimpeachable evidence of association too far. The pottery group has, however, an interest of its own and is therefore described in detail at the end of this

paper. The other mostly later potsherds encountered sporadically on the site are omitted from the detailed account.[1]

No burial mounds existed at Felmersham Bridge despite the word 'barrow' used by the workmen. For a number of reasons the cavity where the find was made was more probably a hut-floor than a grave. Many of the potsherds are heavily sooted on the outside and together with the burnt clay have a decidedly domestic appear-

Fig. 1. Locations of the principal finds of Belgic bronzes.

ance. Moreover, the miscellany of bronzes has at first sight the air of a professional rather than a funeral assemblage. On closer examination this impression is corroborated by unmistakable signs of deliberate mutilation in antiquity, mutilation at the hands of an artisan and not of a ritual character. One of the pieces of curved rim-mounting has distinct file-marks where it was notched before being broken by bending; and the straight edge of the segmental plate, being sharp to the touch when felt from one side and smoothly rounded when felt from the other, was evidently cut in antiquity by the bronzesmith's shears. The fish-head gives a hint in the same sense. It fits neither of the two fragmentary bowls accompanying it in the find. To carry it conveniently a much more massive vessel than either of

[1] Mr. F. W. Kuhlicke, F.S.A., is keeping watch over the site and hopes eventually to analyse the pottery finds as a whole.

these was needed. The thickness of the metal of such a vessel may be judged from the rim-profile deduced from the spout itself (fig. 4). The absence of any trace of such a sturdy bowl in the find, while much flimsier fragments survived in it, suggests that the fish-head was already a loose piece at the time of its abandonment. In its divorced state it would make a strange grave-gift, but as an item in the collection of a merchant or artisan it is understandable and accords with the heterogeneous character of the associated pieces. The same argument may not, however, apply to the cow-heads and the handle. Unconfirmable rumour states that on discovery these were attached to a 'red bulbous pot'. Someone is then said to have smashed the pot because it could not be conveniently placed in his car and to have retained the escutcheons and handle. After much effort it has proved impossible to verify this story. It seems unlikely, to say the least, that the cow-heads could have been riveted (for this was their mode of attachment) to an earthenware vessel. A reddened and distorted wooden bucket may well have been mistaken for pottery by its unscrupulous destroyer.

Thus, in spite of the uncertainties attendant on its violent recovery, one is inclined to believe on the above considerations that the Felmersham find came from the floor of a dwelling or workshop and that it introduces us to the stock-in-trade of a Belgic craftsman or merchant. How such valuable intact bronzes as the ornamental heads came to be abandoned on a domestic or industrial site can only be guessed at, but some disaster seems to be called for in explanation. If this disaster was the passage of the Roman army we may be glad that looters overlooked these pretty objects. Afterwards the site was reoccupied, as the occurrence of later domestic potsherds shows.

Reconstruction

It is tempting to evoke from some of the bronze fragments a bucket suited to the existing handle and escutcheons. For example, the space between the terminals of the handle corresponds approximately both to the diameter of the circle projected from the segmental bronze plate and to the curvature of the less-distorted pieces of rim-mounting. The pieces of bronze ribbon might have been nailed to the wooden wall of a composite bucket to strengthen and decorate it. But this synthesis is probably mistaken. The signs of ancient breakage which militate against it have already been noted. Moreover, the pieces of rim-mounting do not match each other and the fragments of bronze ribbon are suspiciously flat. We shall attempt to assess each object and fragment of the find strictly on its own merits and leave the reader to conclude if he will that a number of them were originally combined on the same bucket.

Description

The bucket-handle and escutcheons (fig. 2). Both the cow-heads and the handle to which they belong are beautifully preserved and patinated. The graceful fluting of the handle comes almost untouched from casting, hammer-marks appearing only around the hooked terminals. The latter are decorated with the zoomorphic

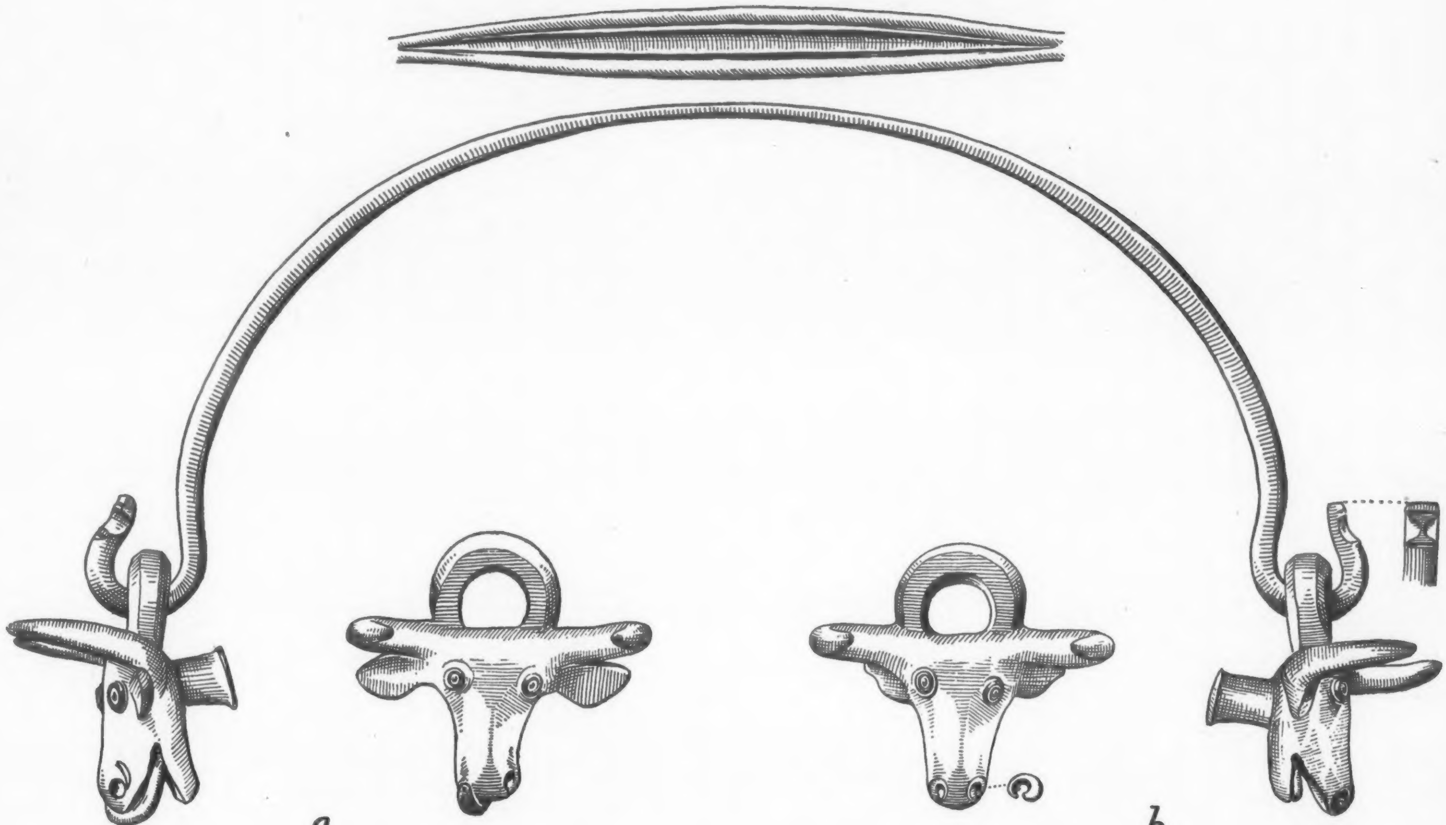


FIG. 2. Bronze escutcheons (front and side views) and handle of a bucket. Felmersham, Beds. (1/1)

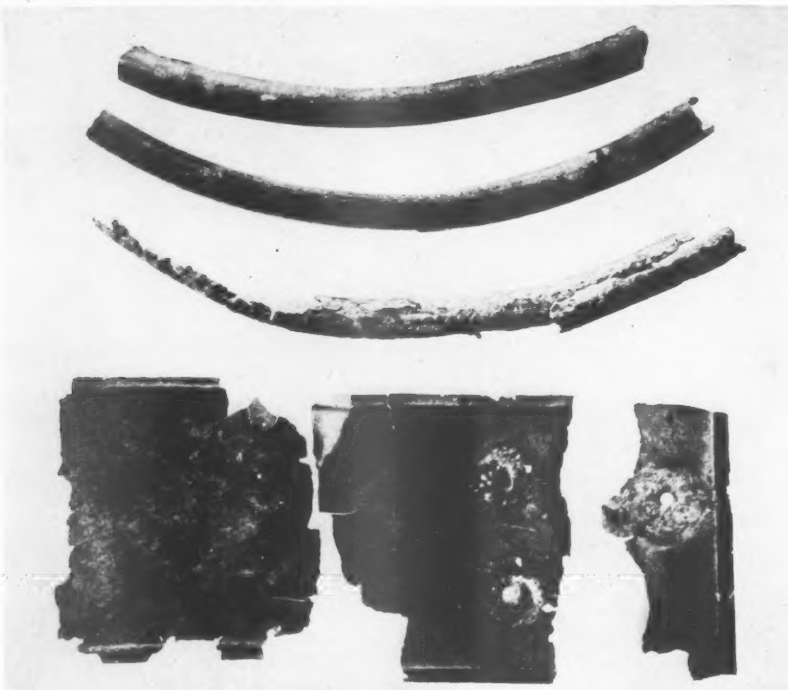
a

b

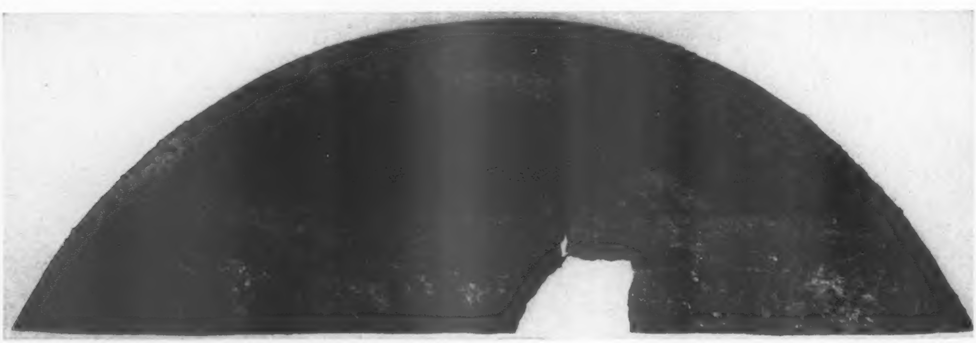
c

d

a, b. Side and front views of a bronze spout shaped like a fish-head; *c, d.* Cow-heads of bronze adapted as bucket escutcheons. Found at Felmersham, Beds. (All $\frac{1}{1}$)



a. Pieces of curved rim-mounting of bronze and of thin bronze ribbon



b. A flat bronze plate with solder-marking. Found at Felmersham, Beds. ($\frac{1}{1}$)

pattern derived by Wheeler from the reverted and close-pinched ends of wire.[1] In the present instance they closely resemble the terminals of some of the penannular brooches found at Hod Hill, Dorset.[2] The space between the ends of the handle measured from the centres of the suspension hooks is 7·1 in., or 7·7 in. over all. The width of the fluted section is 2·28 in. at the centre. The handle shows no signs of wear. It is now in two pieces, parted at the middle by a recent fracture.

The cow-heads, like the Harpenden escutcheons, were designed as a pair but cast from different models. Projecting from the back of each head is a stout rivet, 0·3 in. long. The inclination of the rivet shank to the back of the head differs slightly in the two escutcheons. One rivet suggests that the wall of the bucket was vertical, and the other that it inclined outwards. The expanded ends of the rivets have remarkably little spread, insufficient, it may be thought, to hold them durably in place unless they were passed through metal collars before being flattened. Head *a* has well-formed ears, but those of head *b* seem to have suffered in the casting. Seen in side view the animals' gaping mouths are weakly modelled and look naïvely unreal. Yet the tongue of head *a*, ludicrous from the side, from the front appears charmingly natural. In order to make contact with the tip of the tongue the right nostril has had to be placed slightly lower than the left. Curved grooves surmounting each nostril of cow *a* seem intended as ornament, feebly echoing the comma-shaped mouldings in good Celtic style which enliven the muzzle of cow *b*. The protruding ring-and-dot eyes of both heads with their divergent squint abandon realism altogether but not without achieving a pert animation. Both animals have well-curved horns, of fairly natural appearance, measuring 1·8 in. in span. From top of head to tip of nose both heads measure 1·0 in.

The fish-head spout (fig. 3). Except for the loss of the inlay of the eyes and the enamel of the champlevé decoration, the fish-head spout is intact and splendidly preserved. It measures 2·6 in. from the back edge of the crescentic retaining plate to the tip of the pointed snout, and the lower jaw projects 1 in. farther. The opening at the back measures 2·6 in. from the edge of the crescentic plate downwards, and 2·8 in. horizontally across. Lining the upper side of the hollow head is a mass of lead (now covered with a superficial layer of lead carbonate) which, in conjunction with the crescentic plate, served to secure the spout to its parent vessel: with the bowl inverted, the crescentic plate in position over the lip-flange and the spout pressed against the side, lead was poured in through the fish's mouth and allowed to harden over the juncture of the bowl with the top part of the head. In some early Roman paterae a similar method was adopted for fastening the handle to the basin. The profile of the bowl at the point of attachment can be deduced approximately from the curvature of the inner edges of the spout and its horizontal curvature from the curve of the edge of lead which projects under the crescentic plate (fig. 4). The horizontal curve has a radius of about 4·25 in. The shape of the vertical curve is less certain, since it would be affected by any distortion which the

[1] *Lydney*, Soc. Ant. Research Com. Report No. IX, pp. 78–9, fig. 14.

[2] Unpublished, in the Durden Colln., B.M.

lower inner edge of the spout may have suffered. Assuming that the profile of the vessel continued the vertical curve derived from the spout, it appears that this vessel would be between 4 and 6 in. deep.

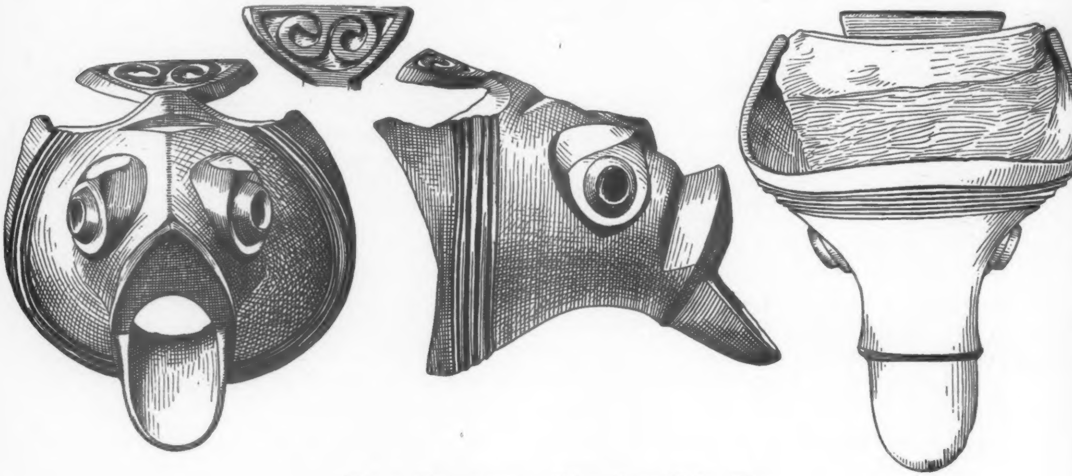


FIG. 3. Bronze spout. Felmersham, Beds. (¾)

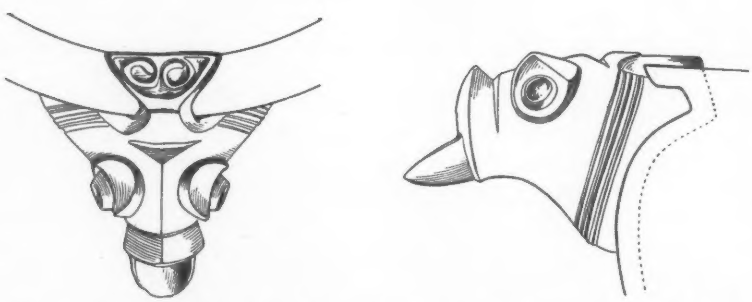


FIG. 4. Side and top view of the bronze spout showing the inferred profile and plan of the corresponding bowl. (½)

In the eye-sockets of the fish are traces of a substance which may be either the remains of enamel or of the gum used for fixing some other inlay. File-marks show in very few places on the spout. The finish is highly skilled, only the rather sketchy champlevé pattern falling below the general level of accomplishment.

Bowl no. 1 (fig. 5). Although the bowl is broken in several places, the whole circumference survives and exact measurements can be taken. The internal width at the mouth is 12·8 in., the horizontal flange at the lip is 0·4 in. wide, and the depth of the bowl is about 5 in. The bottom is formed by a circular patch, 5·6 in.

in diameter, secured by both rivets and solder in an exactly central position. The overlap at the edge of the patch is 0·25 in. The thirty-four rivets have an average spacing of 0·5 in., but are sometimes up to 0·7 in. apart or as close as 0·35 in. On the inside of the bowl the rivet-heads are carefully formed, circular and very flat, on an average 0·2 in. in diameter. The rivet-holes have been punched through from the inside of the bowl, and on the outside the protruding lips of the perforations were left untrimmed when the rivet-ends were flattened. The spread of the rivet-ends is quite small. Neither the polished sides of the bowl nor the smooth line of the rim betray any signs of hammering. For greater strength the flange is a little

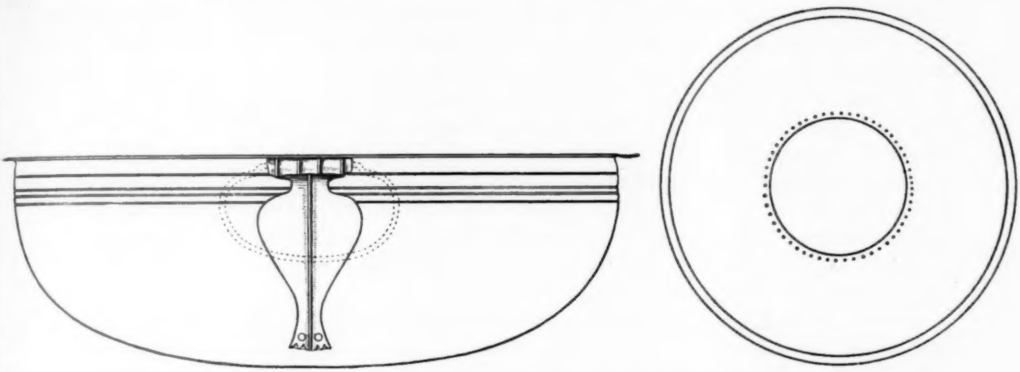


FIG. 5. Reconstructed side view of bowl no. 1 (¼), showing the position of the mount and handle and of the patch on the base. (⅛)

thicker than the sides and slightly curved in section, the concave face uppermost. Laboratory examination showed that the metal was not cast in its present shape but had been worked after casting. No lathe-marks are to be seen on either side. Measurements of the thickness of the metal at various points are as follows:

Flange	1·7 mm. (0·067 in.)
Side immediately below flange . .	0·91 mm. (0·036 in.)
Side at half depth	0·66 mm. (0·026 in.)
Side at two-thirds depth . . .	0·38 mm. (0·015 in.)
Bottom near patch	0·40 mm. (0·016 in.)
Patch	0·36 mm. (0·014 in.)

Below the rim-flange are four parallel grooves, the three lower ones being closely grouped. No ridges or other marks corresponding to these furrows can be seen on the internal metal face. On the outside of the bowl two diametrically opposed areas defined by traces of solder or difference of patina preserve outlines answering to the shape of the single surviving handle-mount. The last seems to have been detached from the bowl before its recovery. On neither side does the solder seem to have covered the whole area of contact between the mount and the bowl.

The handle-mount (pl. VII, *b*). The surviving member of the pair is $\frac{1}{16}$ in. thick, 4·8 in. long, and 2·7 in. at the widest part. The head measures 1·93 by 0·25 in. The surface of the metal is pitted by corrosion, contrasting strangely with the excellent olive-green patina of the bowl. The moulded features of the mount are carelessly formed, having been finished to a considerable extent by coarse filing. The internal top edge is squared so as to fit closely against the underside of the rim-flange of the bowl. At either end of the approximately cylindrical head are sockets, $\frac{1}{4}$ in. deep, for receiving the ends of a swinging handle. This handle would have to assume the shape shown in the diagram in order to rise to a vertical position without fouling the bowl rim. About half-way down the length of the heart-shaped shield of the mount are slight traces of wear from which the depth of the handle may be deduced. At the lower end of the mount are two holes, each 0·25 in. in diameter on the outer face and tapering to a diameter of 0·19 in. on the inner face. At neither of the two handle positions are there corresponding holes in the bowl side. The perforations in the mount are therefore either quite otiose, having been intended originally for rivets which later were deemed unnecessary, or decorative, in which case one would expect them to have held some inlay. But there is no rebate at the edge of the perforations to secure this. Down the middle of the shield is a rib left reserved between shallow grooves. These grooves, the transverse ribs on the head, and the V-shaped notches at the lower end of the mount were clearly finished, if not produced entirely, by filing.

Bowl no. 2 (fig. 6). The shape of this bowl as shown in the diagram is a restoration based on a number of fragments, the thickness and patina resembling those of bowl no. 1. Pieces of the rim and shoulder establish the form of these directly, and taken with the fragments of the bottom indicate the profile of the side. Measured across the upright lip the mouth diameter was 8·0 in., and the estimated depth and maximum width are respectively about 5·7 and 11·5 in. On nearly all the fragments lathe-marks resulting from the mode of manufacture are discernible. On the pieces of the shoulder adhering to the rim fragments these concentrically curved lines are seen on the convex or outer side; but on the fragments of the bowl bottom they appear on the concave or inner side. The last-named fragments on their convex side display three solder-marks. Two of these are intact and form lines, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. broad and about $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, curved in a semicircle. The third mark is incomplete, but apparently conforms to the other two. On the inner face of the bronze can be seen slight bulges answering to the shape of the solder-marks. From the lathe striae, which centre on the mid-point of the bottom, the position of the solder-marks on the bowl profile may be accurately deduced. It is found that the convexity of the semicircle in each case faces symmetrically outwards from the centre. In the diagram these observations are taken to mean that the bowl was furnished with legs, of semicircular section and unknown length. It is assumed that these legs were three in number, although the evidence for the spacing of the marks on the circumference does not exclude the possibility of four. The inclination given to these supposed legs is derived from the profile of the bowl side as otherwise established.

Laboratory examination of the metal yielded the same result as with bowl no. 1.

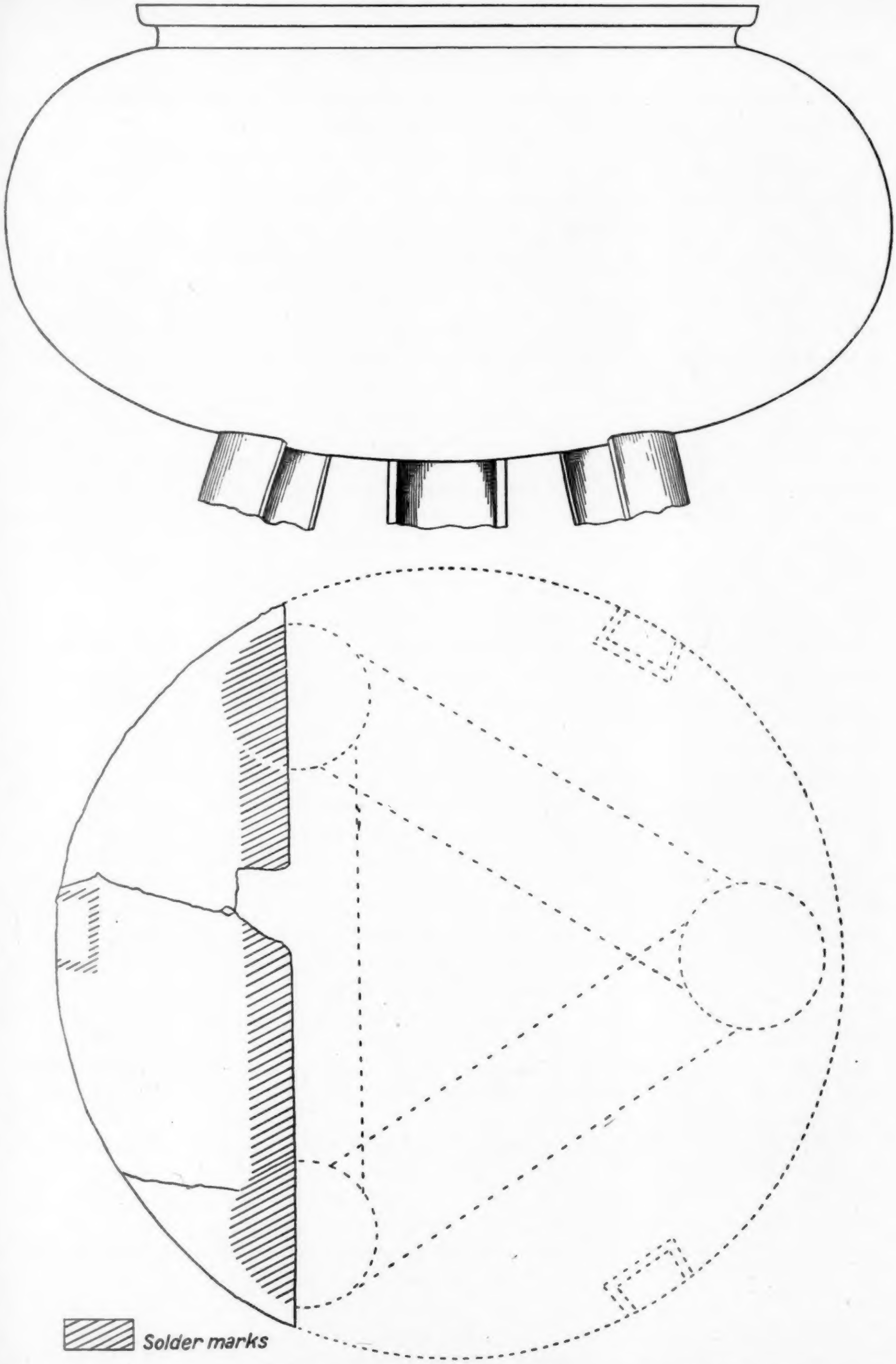


Fig. 6. Top: reconstruction of bowl no. 2 in side view. ($\frac{1}{2}$) Bottom: reconstruction of the flat segmental plate based on the symmetrical projection of solder-marks. ($\frac{2}{3}$)

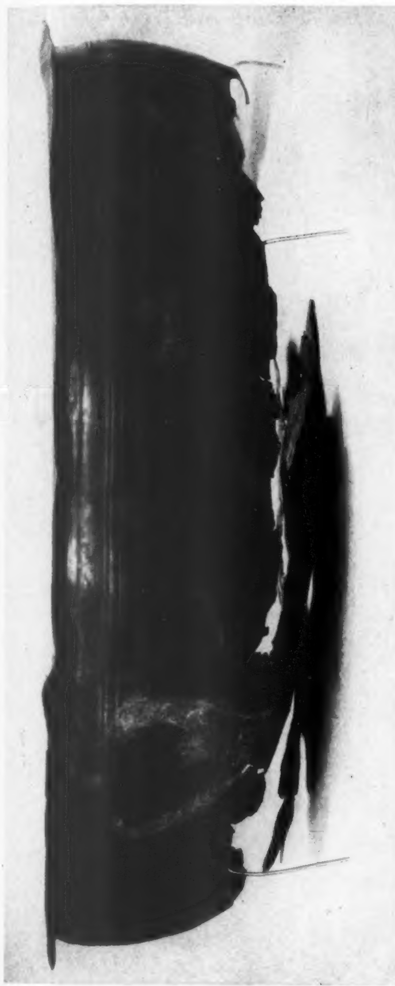
It is noticeable that the metal tends to break along the line of the lathe striae. The thickness of the metal at various points is as follows:

Lip	1·1 mm. to 1·2 mm. (0·044 in. to 0·048 in.)
Shoulder immediately below neck . .	0·30 mm. (0·012 in.)
Bottom near 'leg'	0·46 mm. (0·018 in.)

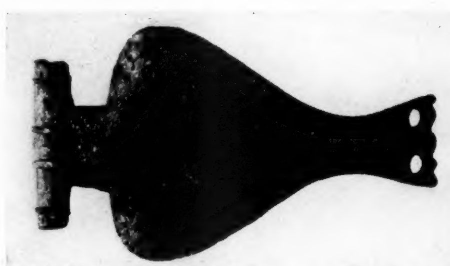
The flat segmental plate (fig. 6). The shape of this plate (which is now in two parts) conforms very closely to the segment of a circle. Along the curved edge on one side there is a band, about ½ in. wide, defined either by traces of solder or, where such traces are absent, by file-roughening intended to receive solder. On the other side of the plate traces of solder follow the straight edge, forming a band about ½ in. wide, terminated at either end by a semicircular solder-mark, approximately 1·4 in. in diameter, the straight edge of which is formed by the edge of the plate itself. Opposite the middle of the band, projecting inwards from the curved edge, is a hollow rectangular figure similarly resulting from contact with solder. The interpretation of these markings was suggested by noting a difference in the formation of the straight and curved edges of the plate. The reasoning which was used above to show that the straight edge was cut by shears (see p. 38) is not applicable to the curved edge. If the latter was also sheared, it has at least been squared by grinding afterwards. The inference, already implied above, is that the cutting of the straight edge took place after the original structure of which the plate formed part had been broken up. It is not therefore unreasonable to suppose that the plate, when complete, was circular. Some corroboration of this assumption is to be found in the disposition of the solder-marks. If lines from the centres of the completed circles corresponding to the semicircular marks on the straight edge be joined to the centre of the circle projected from the curved edge of the plate, the angle so formed measures 120°. This strongly suggests that the complete circular plate bore three circular mounts, symmetrically disposed and joined by straight bands, all these attachments being fixed by solder. The rectangular mark on the outer edge lies approximately midway between the two circular marks, and probably represents one of another three mounts soldered symmetrically on to the original intact plate. Further evaluation of this interesting fragment is reserved for the discussion. The metal is 1 mm. thick and on one side it has faint straight and parallel striae.

The rim-mounting (pl. VII, *a*). The three pieces of rim-mounting, all slightly distorted, have approximately the same curvature, implying a diameter of 6 to 7 in. They are also alike in their U-shaped cross-section, but evidently do not belong to the same rim, since one piece has a plain narrow beading along the edge which the others lack, and is shallower than the others (4 mm. as compared with 5 mm.). The signs of deliberate breakage on one piece have already been mentioned (see p. 38).

The ribbon mounting (pl. VII, *a*). This consists of three pieces of a band of thin bronze about 1·8 in. wide and of thicknesses varying between 0·18 mm. and 0·25 mm., decorated with a plain narrow repoussé line near each edge; and a fourth piece of the same thinness, irregular in shape, broken at one place along a similar decorative line, which must form part of a broader band. Two of the smaller



a. Bronze bowl (bowl no. 1) ($\frac{1}{2}$) with solder-mark corresponding to the handle-mount shown separately at *b* ($\frac{2}{3}$)

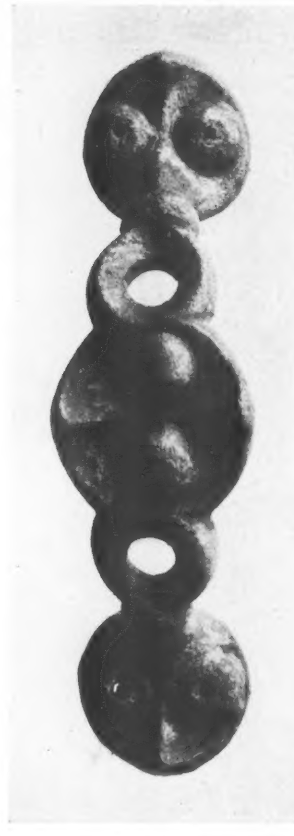


b. Handle-mount from bronze bowl no. 1 ($\frac{2}{3}$)

c. Fragment of the base of another bowl (bowl no. 2), showing on one side a U-shaped solder-mark and on the other concentric lines of discoloration. Found at Felmersham, Beds. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

a. Bronze cow-head forming the terminal of a drinking-horn. Found in a cemetery of the Roman Iron Age, Ekeby, Gothland ($\frac{3}{2}$)
(*Photograph by Allan Fridell*)

b. Bronze mirror-handle decorated with the mask of a bull. From a collection formed at Mâcon, France; now in the British Museum ($\frac{1}{1}$)



c. Bronze tankard-handle from Hod Hill, Dorset. Durden Collection, British Museum ($\frac{1}{1}$)

fragments are pierced by nail-holes, around which circular areas of discoloration preserve the outline of nail-heads about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter. In one perforation a fragment of iron nail remains, and rusty marks testify to other nails of the same metal. All the pieces are perfectly flat, and this seems to be their original condition.

Discussion

Two aspects of the Felmersham find call specially for comment. In the first place the bronze ornaments are interesting for their own merit and for the light they throw on the art history of barbarian Britain; and, secondly, the bronze bowls must be interrogated for any evidence they furnish of industrial technique. In evaluating the find under both these heads the political position of the British Belgae and the consequent complexity of their culture must be borne constantly in mind. Politically the insular Belgic communities were antagonists of Roman expansion. Economically they experienced the commercial penetration which heralded imperial conquest. In such circumstances it is easy to exaggerate the extent of their passive romanization under the impact of Roman commodities, and to underrate their capacity for actively assimilating the classical influence in art and for adopting the superior techniques of Roman industry. Mlle Françoise Henri has contended[1] that the art of enamelling bronze was not practised in Britain before 75 B.C. We are left to conclude that the Belgic immigrants from Gaul were solely responsible for introducing the craft. This conclusion enhances the individual character of our Belgic episode, which is in danger of being slighted when Belgic indebtedness to Rome is too exclusively dwelt upon. Both artistically and technically the Felmersham find emphasizes Belgic independence.

The animal heads strike a note which is not familiar from the other extant examples of Belgic art. They evidently aim at realism of a kind and are not entirely the creatures of fantasy in which the Belgic artist elsewhere proclaims himself heir to the Celtic tradition. Nor, on the other hand, do they resemble another class of Belgic bronzes, those lifeless attempts to reproduce the naturalism of trite Roman models. In designing his animal heads the Felmersham artist may have had particular Roman pieces in mind, or even before him, though the latter is intrinsically improbable. But by assuming the existence of a prototype we in no way detract from the originality of his work, for surely in no instance illustrating this commonplace of criticism can it be more convincingly claimed that classical naturalism has here undergone a change amounting to original creation, in which barbarian genius asserts itself. While they differ in their treatment of reality, the cow-heads and the fish-head share a power of witty and concentrated statement quite foreign to Roman work, especially to the bronzes of provincial lineage common in Gaul at this period. To substantiate these generalizations attention need only be drawn to the derivative character of such pieces as the handle attachment from Thealby, Lincs.,[2] the shale Medusa-head from Rochester and other pieces illustrated by Leeds,[3] and comparison made with the unimpaired vigour

[1] 'Émailleurs d'Occident', in *Préhistoire*, vol. ii (1933), pp. 65 *seqq*.

[2] *Antiq. Journ.* xv, 458, pl. LXXI (1).

[3] *Celtic Ornament*, fig. 29.

of the best Belgic work, the Harpenden escutcheons,[1] the Hounslow boar,[2] and the ever-quoted but ever-fresh horses on the Aylesford bucket.[3] The Felmersham animals belong to the pre-Conquest tradition, before the easy surrender to commercialized Roman art had taken place. In their manufacture a pattern had to be modelled directly for each piece, of which only one copy was made by *cire-perdue* casting. This craftsmanlike procedure stands in contrast to the work of the Roman bronze-founder, who evidently found means of multiple-casting his minor bronzes from a single pattern, thus sacrificing plastic freedom and definition of detail.[4]

The elements of stylization found in the decorative bull-heads of all ages, the lentoid eye surmounted by regular folds of skin, the simplified rectilinear or spiral treatment of the muzzle, the neat rectangle of orderly curls on the forehead, all suggest themselves so readily that perhaps we need not look for typological connexion in order to account for their almost identical appearance at widely separate points in time and space. A search for early examples naturally takes us to the East, to the beginnings of urban culture and the earliest formalization of the religion of the soil.[5] One can only suppose that the Felmersham craftsman had bronze models in plenty for his ornaments had he wished to design them on quite traditional lines, at the least expense of effort.[6] But he seems to have preferred to observe the living creatures, and, if a subjective impression can be trusted, these were cows as certainly as the traditional animals were bulls. His realism is naïve and crude, but it has the freshness of observation. In adopting a curvilinear stylization of the nostrils in head *b* he departs deliberately from reality in charming Celtic fashion. An almost identical comma-shaped moulding of the nostrils is found on an unlocated handle from a French collection (pl. VIII, *b*), and the spiral nostrils of the bucranium from Ham Hill, Somerset, repeat the idea in modified form.

Among British bull-heads, that found at Kirkby Lonsdale (fig. 7)[7] comes closest to the Felmersham escutcheons, but its workmanship is inferior and it lacks characteristic detail. On top of the head is an irregularity, apparently the scar left by a missing projection, possibly a loop, which taken with the hollow back suggests that this head also functioned as a bucket-escutcheon. In this case we must assume that the bucket-side was of metal and that the bull-head was soldered on

[1] *Antiq. Journ.* viii, 520 *seqq.*

[2] *B.M. Guide to the Early Iron Age*, fig. 172.

[3] *Arch.* lii, 361, fig. 11.

[4] Many of the paired ornamental bronzes of classical and earlier date found in Greece and Italy were cast from originals modelled *free-hand*, although clearly it was intended to make the members of the pair as alike as possible. The only mechanical means of producing exact replicas of an object with complicated relief, viz. the multiple-piece mould, does not seem to have been used before Hellenistic times. Cf. E. Pernice in *Österreichisches Jahrbuch*, vii (1904), 154 *seqq.*

[5] The bull-heads of the Royal Graves at Ur are well known. They already have some of the stylized features referred to above. Less remote examples are six bronze bull-heads from Cyprus, of the ninth or eighth century B.C., with large lentoid eyes and rectilinear muzzles (see *Metrop. Mus. of Art Cat. of Bronzes*, p. 349). The same features are seen in a bucranium from Tepe Kül, Anatolia, probably of the fourteenth century B.C. The rectangular stylization of the hair is found on the head forming the butt of a Syrian rhyton of the seventh century B.C. (The last two objects are in the British Museum.)

[6] See Appendix for a list of British bull-heads.

[7] *Antiq. Journ.* xv, 79.

to it. The decoration of buckets with bucrania continued through Romano-British times and into the Saxon period,[1] but no earlier British instance of the custom is known than that furnished by the Felmersham find. It is unlikely that the head from Kirkby is earlier if we are correct in inferring that it was attached by solder. Judged stylistically it might be regarded as later. If the resemblance be thought close enough to the Felmersham heads to indicate typological descent, its occurrence in a remote part of the Highland Zone would corroborate a later dating.

Decorative metal buckets of the later part of the Early Iron Age of Italy had figured escutcheons applied below the rings on which the handles swung.[2] Roman buckets produced at least as early as the first century B.C. carried escutcheons in the

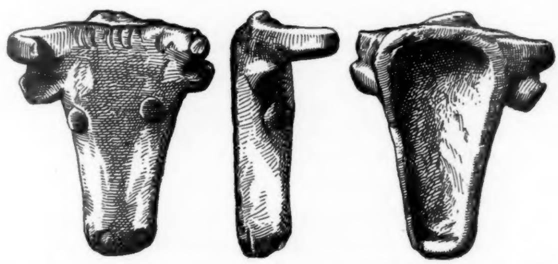


FIG. 7. Bronze bull-head escutcheon found near Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmoreland. ($\frac{1}{1}$, not $\frac{1}{2}$ as given in original publication in *Antiq. Journ.* xv (1935), 79.)

form of dolphins or vine-leaves,[3] and these vessels appear to have been traded widely outside as well as inside the Roman world (see below, pp. 52 and 55). There is however, no evidence that bucrania were ever applied to buckets produced in Italian factories.[4] It is possible that this modification of a classical idea took place in Gaul as a concession to Celtic taste. In the British Museum are preserved three unlocated bronze bull-heads with suspension rings between the horns and horizontal bars spanning the hollow back[5] which may have been attached to buckets. The fact that three bucrania with similar suspension rings from unknown find-places have found their way into the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris suggests that the type was at home in Gaul. The heads in the British

[1] A forthcoming paper by Professor C. F. C. Hawkes discusses the whole question of bull-heads found in Britain.

[2] e.g. *B.M. Guide to the Early Iron Age*, fig. 24.

[3] H. Willers: *Neue Untersuchungen über die römische Bronzeindustrie von Capua und von Niedergermanien*.

[4] In Pernice, *op. cit.*, p. 161, are illustrated two bronze escutcheons from a bucket, of unknown provenance, representing the head of the river god Achelous, who took the form of a bull after his first encounter with Hercules and is portrayed, as here, with short horns. An Achelous-head escutcheon found in Ariège, of inferior workmanship and apparently of Roman date, is illustrated by S. Reinach in *Bronzes figurés de la Gaule Romaine*, p. 336, no. 434. Thus Gaul was probably familiar with the attachment of horned human heads to buckets. The mythological allusion being lost and the portrayal of Achelous degenerating, the substitution of a bucranium would be understandable. Or perhaps a fragment of mythology common to the Celtic and the classical worlds gave rise to the lingering association of bucrania with water.

[5] In the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. Two of the heads are from the Meyrick Collection and one from the Townley Collection.

Museum are strongly formalized, with oblique lentoid eyes, but not simplified by the omission of detail. Regarding the treatment of the subject the only foreign piece which attracts attention comes from the parish of Ekeby, Gothland, where it was found in a cemetery of the Roman Iron Age dated approximately to the period around A.D. 200. This bucranium (pl. VIII, *a*), thought by its publisher[1] to be a cow, forms the end of a drinking-horn. It is paired in the find with another head, this one evidently a bull, with knobbed horns. The Ekeby cow has ring-and-dot eyes quite like those of the Felmersham heads. Its well-formed horns and the presence of ears (always a rare feature in barbarian bucrania) give it something of the same lively if not lifelike air. But despite the general resemblance stylization has gone much farther. The double row of rings between the horns, marking the hair of the forehead, is a schematized feature the Felmersham heads avoid. The ears are transversely ribbed and the unnaturally flattened and broadened muzzle is surmounted by a small single ring-and-dot which may be an allusion to nostrils. By its style the Ekeby cow-head is as isolated among the other Nordic bucrania—which are nearly all terminals, presumably for drinking-horns, and all schematized and devoid of detail—as the Felmersham heads are amongst the British. It is difficult not to see a connexion between the two. As Stenberger points out, the type of bull's head with knobbed horns found in the north is probably a borrowing from the Celtic tradition, and particularly, one might add, from Gaul, where knobbed horns are normal. It is not therefore impossible that bull-head escutcheons of the Felmersham class should have reached the north and there bequeathed a style which quickly degenerated into an individual form of schematization; or that some degenerate progeny of our Felmersham bucrania should have been imported direct from England.

The realism of the fish-head is of a different kind. The creature cannot safely be allocated to any species, or even to any family,[2] yet it bespeaks observation of real fish much more than the copying of classical prototypes. The formal treatment of detail captures the realism of caricature, an essence of *fishiness* which would be much to seek in a romanizing pastiche. It lacks the nightmarish quality of the Harpenden rams but yields nothing to them in vigour. In sureness of line it contrasts with the tentativeness of the cow-heads. Two details of style link it with other contemporary work. The first and most striking is the form of the eye. At this period the motif of a circle set more or less eccentrically within another which is peaked up at one or two points appears to be an innovation in Celtic design. It is used on two tankard-handles from Hod Hill, Dorset, one of which is illustrated in pl. VIII, *c*, and on another tankard-handle found in the Welwyn tomb. To the adoption of this unit of design the Felmersham fish owes its arresting eye, and the originality of the piece lies just in this use of geometrical abstraction to interpret a natural form. The other feature shared with contemporary work is the inferior

[1] Published by M. Stenberger in *Fornvännen*, 1946, Häfte 3, pp. 147 *seqq*. There is a better reproduction of the cow-head as frontispiece to *Tor*, 1948 (*Meddelanden från Uppsala Universitets Museum för Nordiska Fornsaker*), from which pl. VIII, *a* is taken.

[2] The thick lips suggest the carp, which was probably not native to Gaul, but may have been known to the Belgae through the Romans. The tench is another possibility.

champlevé decoration filling the field of the crescentic retaining plate. Plain S-scrolls such as this are a recurring motif in the later Belgic linear design.[1]

The use to which the fish-head spout was put gives ground for nice speculation. All that can be deduced concerning the vessel to which it was attached is summarized in fig. 4 and in the remarks on p. 41. It can be argued that a portable bowl of the permissible dimensions would be rendered clumsy and unpractical by the addition of the spout, and that the position of the latter would rob it of an inch or an inch and a half of the already meagre depth available for holding liquid. If decisive weight is given to this reasoning we may visualize the spout fixed to a robust, shallow vessel, rounded in plan but not necessarily completing the circle, installed immovably at a source of water, possibly collecting the splashing of a spring and directing the water in a disciplined jet from the fish's mouth (fig. 8). Such an arrangement would echo a classical idea. Lion-headed spouts were ornaments of the Greek well-house. Perhaps it is even not too fanciful to imagine the fish-head spout dignifying a spring where a British Sequana was venerated.

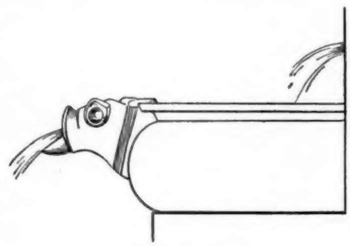


FIG. 8. (½)

In the classical-inspired realism and native originality blended in the bronze ornaments we may see a parallel to the mingling of similar diverse elements in the coinage of Tasciovanus—on which, besides, the bucranium appears as an innovation. Mr. Allen's comment on this coin art in *Archaeologia*, xc, may be aptly repeated here: 'It is not right to dismiss the art of Tasciovanus, or even that of Cunobelinus after him, as a pale shadow of Rome, any more than we should brush aside archaic Greek art as a provincial imitation of Egyptian.'

When we consider the bowls found at Felmersham the main interest moves to the questions of how and where they were manufactured. Both bowls were produced by spinning. In this process a thin sheet of metal, flat or preparatively shaped by beating, is placed on a wooden pattern and brought to its final shape by turning against a blunt-nosed tool. The pressure of the tool hardens the metal, which must consequently be annealed at frequent intervals. Zones of weakness may persist on the line of the tooling, the metal tending to break along the concentric lathe-marks. Sometimes final polishing has removed the lathe-marks entirely,[2] but often faint approximately concentric markings betray the mode of

[1] As seen, for example, in the repoussé bronze strips from Santon Downham, Suffolk, and Rodborough Common, Glos., and in elaborated form in the panel from Elmswell, E. Yorks.: see *Antiq. Journ.* xx, 344 *seqq.*

[2] The distinctive feature of spinning is that it spreads the metal by pressure, whereas in ordinary turning the tool cuts and removes the surface. When visible at all the lathe-marks resulting from spinning will be minute concentric or all but concentric striae or furrows. Occasionally the spun metal may be marked with comparatively broad concentric bands defined by darker and lighter shades of colour. These bands, which in antique bronze may be accentuated by difference of patination, probably arise from patches of impurity in the metal, which must tend to be drawn out into visible arcs as the metal is spread. Bowl no. 2 is a case in point.

manufacture. This is true of bowl no. 2. Both bowls give the regular indications of spinning: they consist of metal whose internal structure testifies to its having been worked after casting, and their smooth circular profiles are devoid of hammer facets. Moreover, bowl no. 1 exemplifies another feature of spinning in the even gradation of the thickness of its metal from lip to bottom. The form of the lathe on which this work was done is not known,[1] and one can only guess how the considerable problem of securing so large a piece of metal against the pattern was overcome. In modern spinning-lathes the pressure of the back-stop on a small area at the centre of rotation is usually found to be sufficient; if the size or hardness of the metal blank necessitates a firmer grip, the area held by the back-stop is increased by an attachment moulded to fit closely against the base of the pattern. But the Belgic lathe may not have had a back-stop. It is possible that the patch forming the bottom of bowl no. 1 is an original feature (as its extreme neatness suggests), not a repair, and replaces the area mutilated through pegging or nailing to the pattern. On this assumption we might infer that the Belgic lathe was of the simplest sort, namely, a single shaft resting on two bearings, the chuck lying outside these bearings and unsupported by a back-stop.[2] The ring of doubled metal at the overlap of the patch also serves to reinforce bowl no. 1 at its weakest point.

Bowl no. 2, however, did not have a patch, or at least not a patch of the same relative size, for the surviving fragments of the bowl wall can be shown by means of the concentric markings to reach within an inch and a half or so of the centre of the bottom. In this case therefore it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the lathe had a back-stop. An interesting feature of bowl no. 2 is the presence of the concentric markings on the *inside* of the bottom and on the *outside* of the shoulder. This difference must correspond to the use of a negative pattern for the major part of the body of the vessel and of a positive pattern for the neck and shoulder.[3] The modern practice in spinning vessels with a smaller mouth than girth, from which a normal pattern would not draw, is to use a composite keyed pattern which can be removed in pieces when the vessel is completed. The Belgae evidently solved this problem differently.

There remains to consider whether the bowls are Italian imports acquired from Roman merchants or whether a case can be made for their manufacture in Britain. There are, in fact, no technical grounds demanding a Mediterranean origin. It is true that buckets were turned in the Capuan bronze industry described by Willers,[4] and that in the first centuries B.C. and A.D. these were traded outside Italy, the Boii, for example, acting as middlemen for northern Europe. But it is equally true that the Belgae of Britain were masters of the lathe, as their turned shale urns testify.[5] From the turning of hard shale to the spinning of bronze would be a short step

[1] For a discussion of the lathe with particular reference to the Belgae see an article by the writer in the *Archaeological Newsletter* for June 1948.

[2] Like the Japanese lathe illustrated in the article in the *Archaeological Newsletter* cited above.

[3] Not vice versa, since the neck and shoulder can hardly have been spun against a negative form.

[4] H. Willers, *op. cit.*

[5] Two Belgic pear-shaped urns consisting of several sections turned separately in shale (see *Arch.* lii, 352) are now in the British Museum and the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. Another fragmentary example accompanied the find of bronzes made at Harpenden, Herts. (*Antiq. Journ.* viii, 520).

once the idea of the bronze process had penetrated to them. In pottery we know that the continental Belgae were at pains to emulate Roman industry, and the material incentive for the British Belgae to compete with Roman bronze-craft must have been at least as great. We need not therefore equate turned bronze with Italian import. The native practice of bronze-spinning is strongly suggested besides by the comparison of the two shield-bosses of thin bronze, not of Roman type, included with enamelled horse-trappings in the hoard found on Polden Hill, Somerset.[1] One of these bosses is lathe-turned, and bears only decoration compatible with this process. The other boss, which is of about the same size and general shape, is decorated with Celtic scrolls, the execution of which naturally required the boss to be produced by hammering. In this instance the turned piece seems to denote Belgic rather than Roman connexions.

The forms of the bowls cannot be matched with any Mediterranean types closely enough to provide a prima-facie case for importation, nor do they find satisfactory parallels among the undoubted native material. The Belgae were acquainted with the orientalizing type of elaborate tripod bowl adorned with griffin-heads (witness the griffin-head found in the Lexden tumulus)[2] and no doubt also with the smaller type of tripod bowls, of later date, with feet in the form of lion's paws.[3] But there is no reason for connecting our simple bowl no. 2 with these exotic vessels. Pottery bowls with three short legs were used by the Belgae in Britain[4] and in great numbers by their contemporary continental neighbours at Mont Beuvray[5] (fig. 9) and Hofheim,[6] while at Lydney Park in Gloucestershire the iron bowl decorated with bull-heads in the Belgic fire-dog style seems to have had three legs.[7] The rabbeted lip of bowl no. 2, designed to hold a lid, is a feature also found in Belgic pottery.

If it is granted that the Belgae had the necessary technical skill, the other evidence is consistent with a native origin for bowl no. 2.

A suggestive ceramic parallel for bowl no. 1 can also be found at Mont Beuvray. The wide, relatively shallow, round-bottomed bowls[8] with a lip-cordon are sometimes decorated with grooves below the rim reminiscent of the similar feature on bowl no. 2, and the band of small bosses which may replace the grooves is possibly copied from bronze work. There is also an analogy between the flat projecting rim of the Beuvray tripod bowl and the flange of bowl no. 1.

In Britain nothing nearer to bowl no. 1 can be found than the bronze bowl without associations from Launceston, Cornwall.[9] The resemblance in shape is not close, but the Launceston bowl is relevant here by its mode of manufacture, which was turning, and by its peculiar riveted handle-mount. The handle-mount of the

[1] *B.M. Guide to the Early Iron Age*, fig. 164.

[2] *Arch.* lxxvi, 247, pl. LVIII, fig. 1.

[3] e.g. A. de Ridder, *Les Bronzes antiques du Louvre*, ii, pl. 93, no. 2600. For occurrence of the tripod bowl with paw-feet in the sixth century A.D., see J. Werner, *Italisches und Koptisches Bronzegeschirr des 6ten und 7ten Jahrhunderts nordwärts der Alpen*, pl. 26, 2.

[4] e.g. *Antiquity*, v, 240, pl. I, fig. 1, and *Arch.* lxi, 210, fig. 6.

[5] J. G. Bulliot, *Fouilles du Mont Beuvray*: Album, e.g. pl. XXVI, nos. 10 and 17.

[6] Ref. in May, *The Pottery found at Silchester*, p. 18.

[7] *Lydney*, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

[8] Bulliot, *op. cit.*, e.g. pl. XXIII, no. 1.

[9] *Antiq. Journ.* vi, 281.

Felmersham bowl no. 1 combines two classical ideas. The shallow bowl with drop-handles suspended from ribbed cylindrical projections cast solid with the bowl[1] was a type perpetuated in the Hellenistic and Italic bronze industry. It appears at Pompeii, was no doubt well known in the Roman provinces, and it provided a model for the head of the Felmersham handle-mount. On the other hand, the heart-shaped shield of the latter is derived ultimately from the palmette, which in degenerate form appears regularly at the base of the handles of wine-jugs, occasionally on buckets and even on the guard-plates above Pompeian door-handles

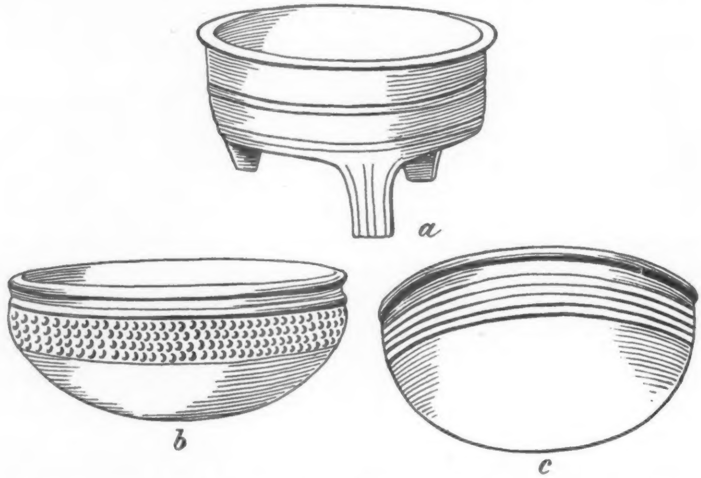


FIG. 9. Pottery bowls found at Mont Beuvray (Bibracte), Saône-et-Loire.

(fig. 10). But the palmette does not seem to have been used on bowls, or to have been combined with the ribbed cylinder of the handle-mounts. The joining of these disparate elements has the air of barbarian work. Besides, the rough workmanship of the Felmersham handle-mount falls below the usual standards of even commercial Roman productions.

In view of its skilled manufacture the Launceston bowl is not likely to be earlier than the Belgic period. The odd shape of its single mount has not been satisfactorily explained, but the example of the Felmersham bowl encourages one to look for a remote and misunderstood reminiscence of a Mediterranean model, such as the winged figure which is combined with the attachment for a drop-handle on some of the paw-footed bowls.[2] The substitution of riveting for solder is in keeping with the more barbaric character of the ornament as compared with the Felmersham mount.

As in the case of bowl no. 2, there seem to be no grounds for regarding bowl no. 1 as an import of Mediterranean manufacture. The treatment of the handle-

[1] e.g. K. Schumacher, *Beschreibung der Sammlung antiker Bronzen zu Karlsruhe*, Taf. VIII, nos. 18 to 20, etc. See *Arch.* lxiii, 17, fig. 23 left.

[2] E. G. A. de Ridder, *loc. cit.*

mount in itself suggests barbarian work, and the shape of the bowl is best interpreted within the barbarian tradition. Both bowls may of course have been made in Gaul by native craftsmen and exported thence to Britain. But on the Continent political unrest and the influx of Roman trade had probably greatly reduced if not extinguished native industry and export by the beginning of the first century A.D. On balance we may allow that the Felmersham bowls were made in Britain.

In the course of the description it was deduced that the flat segmental plate (fig. 6) was part of a complex structure reduced to fragments in antiquity. The curved edge of the plate looks fresh and has minute ragged projections, left by the

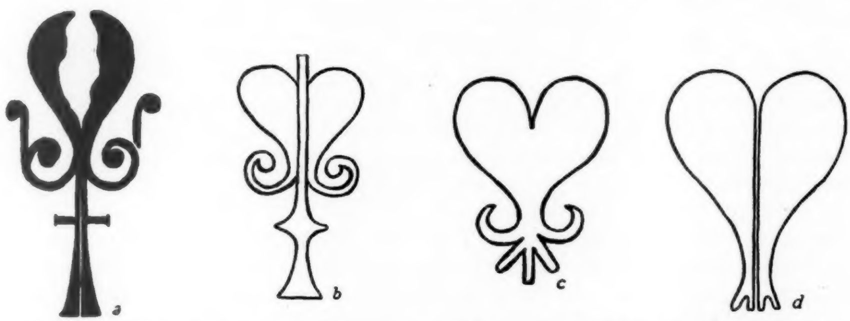


FIG. 10. Late variations on the palmette theme: *a*, Aylesford, Kent, from a jug-handle (*B.M. Guide to the Early Iron Age*, fig. 137); *b*, from a Pompeian door-handle (E. Pernice, *Hellenistische Kunst in Pompeji, Geräte und Gefässe aus Bronze*, Abb. 87); *c*, Arcisate, north Italy, from a silver bowl (*B.M. Catalogue of Silver Plate*, pl. XVII); *d*, Budapest, from a bronze bucket (*Radnóti, Die römischen Bronzegefässe von Panonien*, Taf. IX, 45).

cutting tool, which would have been quickly worn off unless it was protected by its position in the composite structure. The peculiarities of the plate seem best accounted for by supposing it to be part of the base of a circular vessel, from the edge of which rose more or less vertical metal walls attached directly by solder as well as by soldered angle-clamps. This base was strengthened by three strips of metal soldered on to the lower side in the form of a triangle. At the angles of the latter, attached also by solder, were three feet of circular section. Such a structure might be the base of a stave-built bucket—to which indeed the cow-head escutcheons may have belonged—or it might be part of an all-metal bucket. No parallels can be cited from Britain in support of either interpretation. Normally Belgic buckets were wooden-bottomed, judging from the Aylesford and Marlborough[1] specimens, but the use of metal buckets of Roman type in the first century A.D. is attested by the handle-mounts from Thealby, Lincs.,[2] and Hod Hill;[3] and another such mount, undated, was found at Lydney Park.[4] One of the Capuan bucket types, it may be noted, had three low egg-shaped feet soldered on to the base.[5]

1 *Arch.* lii, 361; *Antiquity*, v, 42.
2 *Antiq. Journ.* xv, 458, pl. LXXI, no. 1.
3 *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xx, 202, pl. 9, fig. 4.
4 *Lydney*, *op. cit.*, p. 87, fig. 21, no. 109.
5 H. Willers, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

But except for the feet the Capuan buckets were of one piece. Again we have the hint of elaborate barbarian copying of an Italic model.

No special comment is needed on the rim-mounting and the thin bronze ribbon, both typical of Belgic bronze-craft. The covering of wooden vessels and boxes with sheet bronze, often decorated with repoussé patterns in imitation of solid metal, is a Belgic innovation in this country, and ultimately derives from Roman work.[1] Probably the bronze ribbon from Felmersham was mounted on a flat surface.

Some striking parallels can be drawn between the Felmersham material and the contents of the Belgic chieftain's tomb at Welwyn. Pieces of beaded rim-mounting from the two sites are quite identical, and the loose drop-handle from Welwyn is an almost perfect fit for the Felmersham mount. More impressive still is the resemblance of the bowls. R. A. Smith restored the Welwyn specimen to resemble a Mediterranean type, assuming that a heavy metal base present in the find belonged to the large bowl now reduced to fragments.[2] But while the pedestal may be part of an imported piece, the same is not necessarily true of the fragmentary bowl, for there is no direct evidence that the two belonged together. This Welwyn bowl clearly approaches the Felmersham bowl no. 1 in several points. The metal is spun, 0·69 mm. thick on average. There is a lip-flange of the same width as that of bowl no. 1, but formed by doubling instead of thickening the metal. An internal width at the mouth of 12·2 in. and a depth of 5 to 6 in. both lie close to the Felmersham figures. Most surprising of all, the bottom of the Welwyn bowl was formed by a circular patch of almost the same diameter as that of bowl no. 1, namely, between 5 and 5½ in., as compared with 5·6 in. at Felmersham.

The Date of the Bronzes

The doubt which must strictly attach to the alleged association of pottery destroys the possibility of direct dating. Technical and stylistic comparisons made in course of the discussion show that the bronzes are the products of pre-Conquest craft, but do not satisfactorily limit the date within the Belgic period. Unfortunately the Welwyn find, with which some of the closest parallels are to be drawn, is not itself precisely dated. The 'second half of the first century B.C.' to which it is now conventionally assigned was deduced over thirty-five years ago on quite general grounds, influenced no doubt by Evans's dating of British coins. Comparisons furnished by the Felmersham and Harpenden objects are equally unhelpful for chronology.

In his recently proposed revision of the dating of the British coinage Mr. Derek Allen regards Tasciovanus as reigning from about the middle of the last quarter of the first century B.C. until 'well into the first century A.D.' If the art of their coinage may be taken to indicate the general artistic attainments of the Catuvellauni, the reign of Tasciovanus seems to provide the earliest suitable cultural context for the Felmersham bronzes; for Tasciovanus's coins reflect a lively native invention counterbalancing Roman borrowings. In the ensuing reign of Cunobe-

[1] See Hawkes in *Antiq. Journ.* xx, 344 *seqq.*

[2] *Arch.* lxiii, 16, fig. 11.

linus, the Roman element tends to predominate in the coin art. Since the Felmersham bronzes, while being far removed from mere copying, reflect nevertheless a considerable classical influence, one would be inclined, for what such general reasoning is worth, to place their manufacture after rather than before the opening of the Christian era. The close knowledge of Roman industry which the adoption of bronze-spinning by the Belgae would argue may also be taken to indicate a late-Belgic date.

The Pottery (Fig. 11)

1. Rim-fragment of deep bowl, everted lip, flat almost vertical neck with heavy cordon and grooves at base. Deep shoulder groove where now broken. Fabric light brown with grey core, moderately hard, small shell grits. Surface black and slightly polished.

2, 3. Rim-fragments of deep bowls with everted lip and inconspicuous cordons at base of neck. Fabric brown, blackened on both faces, rough outer surface.

4. Fragment of rim and side of deep bowl resembling 2 and 3, but in coarse light-brown sandy ware and having groove on shoulder.

5. Rim-fragment of deep bowl, everted lip, vestigial neck-cordon, and shoulder-groove. Soft fabric with black core and reddish faces. Burnished black outer surface worn off in places.

6. Fragment of rim and side of deep bowl, everted lip, shallow cordon at neck and shallow countersunk cordon on shoulder. Reddish, moderately hard, fine-grained fabric with whitish core. Outer surface light brown, irregularly blackened by usage.

7. Rim-fragment of deep bowl, everted lip, vestigial cordon at base of neck. Coarse fabric, light red with black core, with sand grits. Moderately smooth outer surface.

8. Rim-fragment of high-shouldered cooking-pot, the rim internally rabbeted to receive a lid. Outer surface moderately smooth, blackened by usage. Fabric moderately hard, reddish with grey core, with shell grits.

9. Rim-fragment of ovoid cooking-pot, flat rim bevelled internally, with a narrow groove resembling vestigial rabbet for lid. Moderately hard brown fabric with shell grits. Outer surface wheel-marked and much blackened by usage.

10. Rim-fragment of bead-rimmed cooking-pot. Moderately hard coarse brown fabric with red surfaces and shell grits. Blackened outside by usage.

11. Rim-fragment of cooking-pot, everted lip with internal rabbet. Soft brown fabric, thickly sooted on the outside. Stamped on the shoulder with a rough potter's mark, approximately NA and possibly intended to be intelligible.[1] A finger-print on the inside marks the place where the side of the pot was supported while the stamp was being impressed.

12. Rim-fragment of roughly turned shallow bowl, rough and irregular grooving below flattened rim, four spaced horizontal grooves on inner surface. Grey fabric with pink core, blackened outer surface.

13. Major part of a platter with externally bevelled rim and overhanging side. Ring-stand base containing within it two concentric offsets raised above the level of the ring-stand. Fabric brown with grey core, outer surface burnished. Inside, at the centre, an unintelligible potter's stamp.

14. Fragment of platter resembling the foregoing.

15. Fragment of platter of thick, moderately hard light-grey fabric with dull-black inner and outer surfaces.

[1] Potters' stamps are occasionally found on Roman coarse ware other than amphorae and mortaria. Mr. Graham Webster, F.S.A., informed the writer of the upper part of a large storage jar in the Lincoln Museum which has a stamp apparently to be read as **RECINTV F** *retro*.

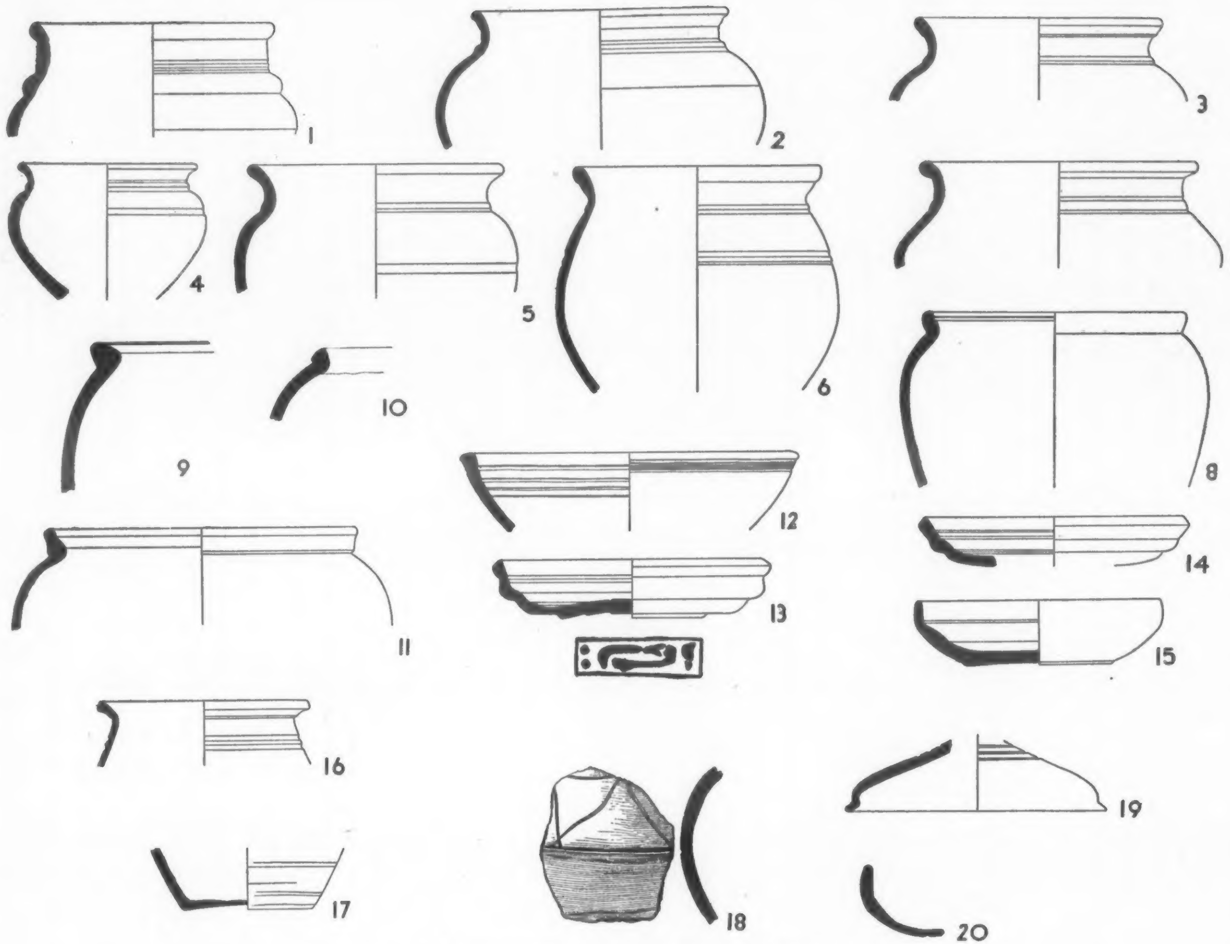


FIG. 11. Pottery fragments from Felmersham, Beds. (¼)

16. Rim-fragment of deep bowl with everted lip and flat conical neck with countersunk cordon. Fine hard grey fabric, blackened on both surfaces.
17. Base of pot in fabric similar to foregoing. Centre of base slightly raised. The outer surface has irregularly spaced lines, incised and horizontal. The underside of the base shows the marks of having been cut away from the wheel with a cord.
18. Fragment of side of pot with rounded profile, roughly turned in soft light-grey fabric. A groove marks the widest girth, above which there is incised decoration in the form of very irregular triangles.
19. Rim-fragment of flattish sub-conical lid, adapted for fitting the internally rabbeted lip of a vessel. Light grey, moderately hard fabric with dark-grey core. Decorated with three shallow concentric furrows on the upper surface.
20. Rim-fragment of platter of curved outer profile, the internal curve broken by a slight flattening. The base possibly slightly omphaloid, defined by a shallow groove. Very fine, moderately hard fabric, light grey at the faces and darker grey inside.

Typologically the earliest form in this group is that represented by fragment 1. It is probably to be restored on the lines of Swarling type 25, and compared with the pots from Welwyn (*B.M. Guide to the Early Iron Age*, p. 131); Ugley, South Benfleet, and Great Wakering (*Colchester Museum Reports* for two years to March 1937, pl. v, and for 1921, pl. II); and Stone (*Proc. Prehist. Soc.* vii, 139, no. 9). Fragments 2 and 7 represent a long-lived type of domestic ware introduced by the Belgae in pre-Roman times and surviving in modified forms well into the Romano-British period. *Camulodunum*[1] groups the infinite variations of the type under its form 218, which provides no dating criterion within the first century. The fabric of the Felmersham examples is of the native Belgic sort, having none of the metallic hardness which later romanizing Belgic wares owed to improved kilns adopted under Roman influence. The inferior fabric thus suggests a pre-Conquest date, though this evidence cannot be pressed. The thick-walled cooking-pots represented by fragments 8 to 11 were used both before and after the Conquest, being common at most first-century sites: cf. *Verulamium*[2] group B; *Maiden Castle*[2] form 219; *Camulodunum* forms 257 and 262. Fragments 12 to 15 belong to platters derived from the classical Belgic type denoted by Haltern 72, Hofheim 97, etc. The casual variety of these inferior imitations cannot be classified chronologically. The profiles of the present examples are not paralleled at Colchester, nor, apparently, anywhere else. The platter in the Verulamium group D, fig. 23, no. 10, with its slightly concave lip-flange, seems related to our platters 13 and 14. The concentric rings on the base of platter 13 may be compared with a similar feature of platter R 52 on p. 228 of the *Surrey Arch. Collns.* Survey of Farnham, 1939. Otiose countersunk ring-stands appear at Colchester in form 21 E. In fragments 16 and 17 there appears the hard, metallic, romanizing fabric which at Colchester already predominated in the native fine ware on the eve of the conquest. For a superior version of the rough decoration appearing on fragment 18 cf. *Verulamium*, group B, fig. 16, no. 45*a*. The lid 19 conforms approximately to those illustrated on pl. LXXXV of *Camulodunum*. The plain platter 20 just betrays its kinship with the Roman-

[1] Report of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. xiv.

[2] Respectively Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries, vols. xi and xii.

derived Gallo-Belgic series by the flattened portion of its internal profile. Its fabric is of Roman kind.

The absence of exclusively Roman types, the presence of an early type such as 1, and the preponderance of relatively coarse and ill-fired fabric combine to suggest a date for the group in the first half of the first century A.D.

Appendix

The following list of early bucrania found in Britain includes most of the published examples. Fire-dog finials and the Romano-British bronze objects decorated with bull-heads, usually regarded as amulets (see *Colchester Museum Reports*, 1929–30, p. 42), are omitted. The heads are of bronze unless otherwise noted.

Austwick, Yorks.	Unpublished, in British Museum.	Two small heads with rectilinear muzzles, projecting from a bronze mirror-handle.
Birdlip, Glos.	*Arch.* lxi, 382, fig. 2.	Knobbed horns, large lentoid eyes. Served as ? handle. 2nd quarter 1st century A.D.
Dinorben Hill Fort, Denbighs.	*Arch. Camb.* 1913, p. 195.	Large lentoid eyes, hair on forehead stylized in rectangle, fan-shaped muzzle with no detail. Possibly 3rd century A.D.
Felmersham, Beds.	See text above.	
Kirkby Lonsdale, Westm.	*Antiq. Journ.* xv, 79 (scale should be 1/1)	See fig. 7 in text above.
Lydney Park, Glos.	*Lydney Report.*	(*a*) Three heads of fire-dog type with knobbed horns, fixed to bowl, all iron. (*b*) Another loose head, large lentoid eyes, bulbous muzzle, dentate enamelled ornament. Probably late 1st century A.D.
Magna (Kenchester), Herefords.	*Proc. of the Woolthorpe Naturalists' Field Club*, ii, 1924–5, p. 24.	Bucket-escutcheon, stylized, detail indicated by a few straight lines, strongly curved slightly knobbed horns, with loop for handle and lateral projections for nailing to bucket. Unassociated, but found on house site which also produced coins of Domitian (A.D. 81–96).
Mountsorrel, Leics.	*Proc. Camb. Antiq. Soc.* viii (1893–5).	Bucket-escutcheon, head of fire-dog type, but horns set differently and knobbed, no eyes or muzzle detail.
North Waltham, Hants.	*Arch. Journ.* vi (1849), 404.	Apparently of fairly realistic shape but without detail, pointed horns. Found 'with Roman remains'.
Thealby, Lincs.	*Antiq. Journ.* xv, 458, pl. LXXI, 2.	Knobbed horns, beak-like projection over head, linear treatment of muzzle. 1st century A.D.
Twyford, Lincs.	Unpublished, in the Leicester Museum.	Bucket-escutcheon, with stumpy projections for horn and ears, dots for eyes, muzzle marked off by groove, the head surmounted by a beaked projection like that of the Thealby bull.
Unlocated.	Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, iv, 464, pl. CXIII, 3.	Very poor triangular head with tiny misplaced horns, pin-point eyes, and muzzle of horizontal lines. Served as escutcheon on bucket of Saxon type.
Unlocated.	Unpublished, in British Museum.	Head somewhat resembling the one from Birdlip, having served as handle or finial.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For the privilege of publishing the Felmersham find the writer wishes to thank Mr. R. Turner of Bedford, the owner of the animal-head ornaments, and Mr. F. W. Kuhlicke, F.S.A., Hon. Curator of the Bedford Modern School Museum, where the remaining objects are preserved. Mr. Kuhlicke spared no pains in making local inquiries about the circumstances of the discovery. Thanks are owed also to the Society's President for some stimulating suggestions, in particular for his championing of the spring-head interpretation of the fish-head spout; to Mr. H. H. Coghlan, F.S.A., to Messrs. Charles Taylor Ltd. of Birmingham, and to Mr. C. Shawe, the manager of a London metal-spinning firm, for technical assistance; to the writer's colleagues of the Natural History Museum, Dr. F. C. Fraser and Dr. E. Trewavas, for identifying the bones and commenting on the fish; to Dr. A. A. Moss of the British Museum for examining the metal of the bowls. The excellent drawings are the work of Mr. C. O. Waterhouse. For permission to reproduce his photograph of the Ekeby cow-head we are indebted to Mr. Allan Fridell of the Uppsala University Museum.

A PROMONTORY FORT ON THE SHORE OF RAMSEY BAY, ISLE OF MAN

By Gerhard Bersu, Hon. F.S.A.

The small fort of the promontory type with which this report deals lies in the parish of Lezayre, on the shore of Ramsey Bay on the brooghs which form the eastern edge of the undulating Andreas plateau towards the sea. Here, in the northern part of the bay, the cliffs are built up by warped stratified sands with reddish sandy and loamy bands. Where springs caused or initiated erosion the straight north–south line of the broogh is intersected by short valleys with steep slopes and marshy bottoms. Where, as occasionally happens, two of such valleys lie near to each other, the gullies create small peninsulas with level surfaces connected only by a narrow neck with the plateau. Ideal sites for habitation above the broad sandy beach are formed by natural agencies, sites which need only a small amount of adjustment to make them easily defensible. A certain disadvantage arises from the fact that both the platform of the promontory and the surface of the plateau lie in the same level, in the present case 60 ft. above the high-water mark.

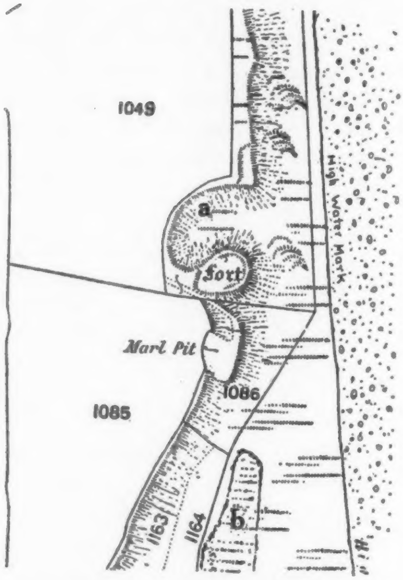


Fig. 1. Promontory Fort Vowlan and immediate surroundings. *a*, old marl-pit; *b*, northern end of Mooragh. *Based on the O.S. map with the sanction of the Comptroller of H.M. Stationery Office.*

The state of the site is given in fig. 2 with contours at 1-ft. intervals. A square with co-ordinates (*a–h*, *j–r*) marks the outlines of the detailed plans of the promontory, figs. 3 and 4. The distance of the lines of the grid is 3 m., roughly equivalent to 10 ft.

The site is to-day badly knocked about. The eastern part of the slope towards the sea has been dug away by a sandpit which impinges on the platform. The valleys or gullies in the north and south are cut by modern drainage ditches which cross the neck at A. Other disturbances are a ruined concrete tank at the turn of the 40-ft. contour in the north and two mounds at A in plan fig. 2, modern upcasts in connexion with water-installations of a now-dismantled windmill, west of A. The north-western slope of the northern valley is flattened by a long-abandoned marl-pit (50-ft. contour). A modern road with a ramp was cut in the surface of the promontory and caused at *an*, *ao* the inward curve of the 60-ft. contour. The

state of the edge and upper slope of the promontory in the north and south shows clearly that some earth has either slipped or has been washed down. But even before all this happened, already before 1870, when the Ordnance Survey was made, the 25-in. map (fig. 1) shows older disturbances. A road leading from the plateau in the north-west crosses over the neck to another now-overgrown marl-pit on the upper slope of the brooghs south of the promontory. To this now-vanished road is to be attributed in our fig. 2 the inward curving of the 60-ft. contour in the

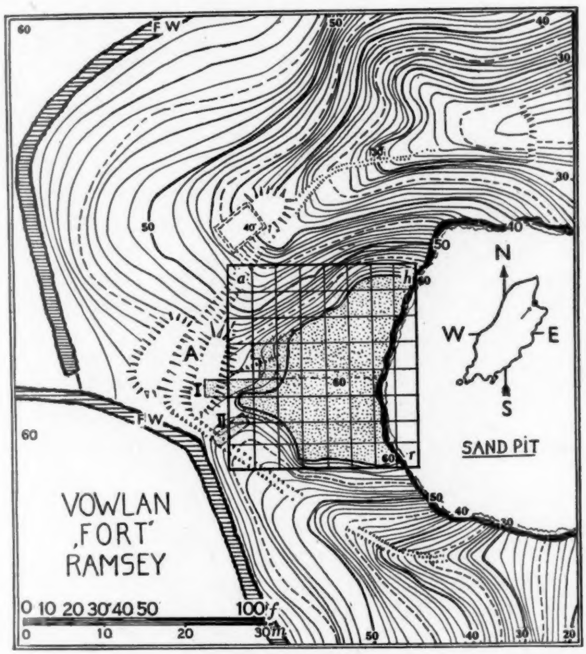


FIG. 2. Plan of promontory. State in 1946. Scale *circa* 1:400; 1-foot contours.

south of the platform, as also a kind of terrace formed by the 50–52 ft. contour line in the south of the slope of the brooghs. But the configuration of the ground makes it obvious still to-day that both gullies met in the north-west at the neck and formed here outside the modern field wall FW south of A (fig. 2) a shallow depression.

The map of the Ordnance Survey, fig. 1, is the oldest and only existing record of the site. These maps are, for the Isle of Man, quite reliable for archaeological features, and so it is most valuable as we can guess from it the original outline of the promontory. We see from it as from the outline of the still-existing slope that only very little (some yards) of the surface of the promontory has been dug away by the sandpit in the east. The 60-ft. contour formed originally as an oval with axis north-east to south-west of *circa* 30 × 20 m. diameter the edge of the

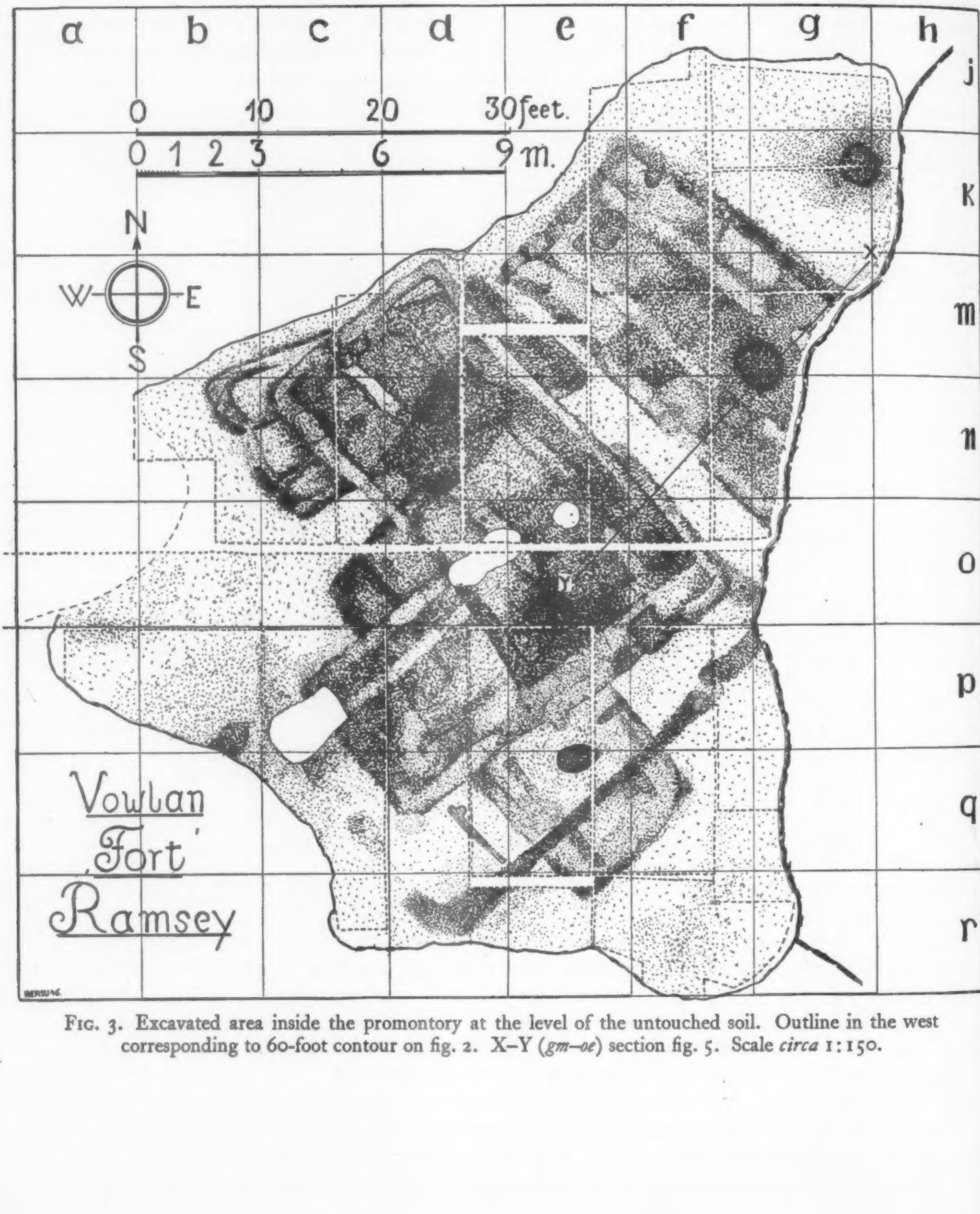


FIG. 3. Excavated area inside the promontory at the level of the untouched soil. Outline in the west corresponding to 60-foot contour on fig. 2. X–Y (*gm–oe*) section fig. 5. Scale *circa* 1:150.

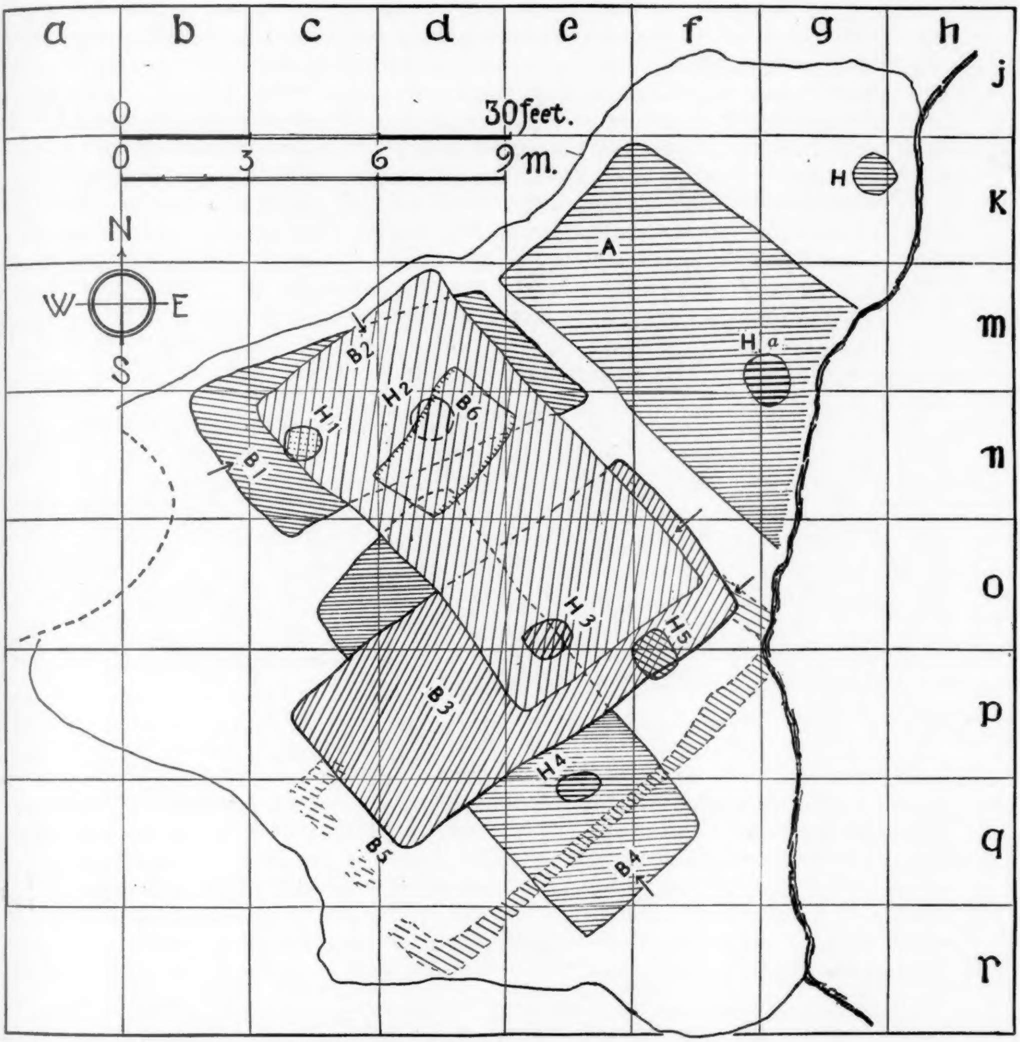


FIG. 4. Diagram of houses inside the promontory (cf. fig. 3). Scale *circa* 1:150.

promontory. In fig. 2, from *bm* to *ag*, *ra* to *re*, the edges of this oval are on the whole still preserved. An important feature of the map (fig. 1) is that the surface of the promontory was surrounded by a bank in the north, east, and south and that there was an apparently artificial short slope towards the west. We learn from the map nothing about an entrance to the platform, nor if there was a ditch across the neck. The bank may originally have surrounded the whole site as a ring and may in the west have been dug away for filling up the road to the marl-pit (see above). This bank entitles the site to be called a 'fort'. Indeed, had it not been for the fact that, at the face of the sandpit, habitation is proved by dark soil and charcoal under the modern humus on top of the untouched sand, no one would have ventured to call this site a fort to-day on the merits of the situation alone. No name or tradition is connected with it, nor were finds recorded when the sandpit was dug. The name 'Vowlan' is taken from a nearby farm to the north-west. According to the late Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Man, Mr. G. J. H. Neely, it formed once part of its grounds.[1]

As the site is in constant danger of further disturbances and as so far none of the numerous promontories on the Manx coast has been excavated, the site was chosen for a test excavation by the Ancient Monuments Trustees and excavated in March 1946 by the author of this paper. The owners, the Trustees of the late Mr. William Clegg, readily gave their consent, and I am obliged for help to Mr. N. Mathieson of Douglas, to the Town Surveyor of Ramsey, Mr. T. F. Faragher, and for much advice to the Director of the Manx Museum, Mr. B. R. S. Megaw, F.S.A. A very special word of thanks is due to the Chairman of the Manx Museum and Ancient Monuments Trustees, His Honour Deemster R. D. Farrant, for his unfailing co-operation at all stages of the work.

The Neck of the Promontory

The much-disturbed state of the neck of the promontory made detailed investigation of a possible defensive arrangement at the neck of the promontory inadvisable. The western end of our cutting I (*m*, *o*, *a* and 3 m. farther west, fig. 2) showed that from *ao* to the west the surface of the platform had been dug away. We encountered at the end of the cutting under the eastern upcast of the modern drainage ditch (A, fig. 2) a humus layer identical with that on the platform sloping down to the south-west. The surface of the untouched soil under it lies here, 1·50 m. deeper than on the platform, but no traces of a silted-up ditch were found, nor were traces

[1] P. M. C. Kermode in *List of Manx Antiquities* (Douglas, 1930) (quoted in the following notes as Kermode, *List*) mentions the site under earthworks, p. 40, no. 1: 'Can this be the Danes' Fort mentioned in C.R.P. 1719?' and again under Watch and Ward Stations, p. 43: 'Post for the night watch, Hangman's Hill. This was the name of the little promontory with the fort overlooking the mouth of the river, above the Mooragh, Ramsey.' There is some confusion: Hangman's Hill (at *a* in fig. 7) has no promontory and does not just overlook the mouth of the river (see also p. 76, n. 2, below). In the first edition of the *List of Manx Antiquities* (Douglas, 1900), p. 7, Kermode suggests our site as the place of the still-unidentified earthwork in Ramsey Bay: 'Is this Fort Loyal (1648) built by James Earl of Derby, to command the harbour, which in those days would be the N. end of the Mooragh?' In Kermode and A. W. Herdman, *Manks Antiquities* (Douglas, 1914), the same suggestion is put forward (p. 131).

of a ditch found in cutting II running from *ap* in a south-westerly direction. Here again we came on an old surface with untouched soil sloping down and going up at the south-west end of the cutting, again much disturbed by modern activities. Trial holes farther west of cutting I revealed again disturbances but no traces of a ditch, and water quickly filled our trial holes. We can only state that in the south-west of the platform there was a natural depression isolating the platform from the plateau to the west. If the conditions of the water-table were the same as those to-day, it is rather unlikely that there was ever a deep ditch of such dimensions as are to be seen at other similarly situated Manx forts (see below). Water would make it very difficult to dig a fosse.

The Platform

Trial trench I, dug in the direction east–west across the surface of the fort (*ao–gc*), 1·50 m. wide, showed that information about structures would only be obtained by uncovering bigger areas. When this enlargement of the trench showed that traces of structures once standing here could be brought out, the whole area was uncovered (stippled in fig. 2) and afterwards filled in again. It turned out from the beginning that satisfactory evidence of the structures could be obtained better in the horizontal than in the vertical by sections. After removing the humus layer with the spade, the whole surface was scraped with the trowel over and over again, and this produced the outlines of darker or lighter areas as given in fig. 3. With the exception of three small modern disturbances (left white in fig. 3) the rest of the plateau is intact. No dark or light lines such as foundation trenches or post-holes limit the area against the slope in the north and south. In the sections also no such traces, or traces of a surrounding bank of decayed sods, were to be seen in the layers of the humus or in the level of the untouched soil. No information could be obtained about the bank which once surrounded (on the evidence of the 25-in. map, fig. 1) the platform of our promontory. But as a zone near to the original edge of the platform is preserved at several places (see above), we should have found some traces of a defensive construction in the soil, if there ever existed a stronger defensive work than a light parapet, or more than a modest bank of upcast formed of sand and supported by wattle.

The Houses

The main features in the uncovered surface of the promontory are two areas covered with darker soil (fig. 3 and A, B1–B6, in diagram fig. 4). The south-eastern part of A is obviously dug away by the sandpit. The features A, B1–B5 are apparently of the same nature, the difference between A and B1–B5 being only that in the complex B1–B5 structures identical in ground-plan with A, but varying in size, were once built successively one on top of the other. The latest feature in the complex is B6 (*nmcd*), a small dark rectangular area of 3·50 × 2 m. It cannot be stated if B6 is only part of one of the bigger features like A, B1–B5. B6 lies in a level of 20 cm. above the untouched soil, brown humus surrounds it, and the shallow layer of dark soil is sunk in the darkish soil of B2 to a depth of 10 cm. No other

traces of discoloration running parallel to its outlines were visible. The relative sequence of B1–B5 is obvious: B5 is later than B4 but earlier than B3; B3 and B1 are earlier than B2; B1 is also older than B2. We cannot state the relative age of B1 in relation to B3, B4, and B5. It is only certain that B1 was not contemporary with B3. Stratification is no guide as to which, if any, of the structures B1–B5 were contemporary with A. The curious outline of B1 in the east (in *edm*) makes it likely that B1 was built when A was still standing. On the other hand, the parallel main axes of A and B2, the latest feature in the complex B, suggest that A survived changes in complex B. If we admit that at the same time two structures were existing together, it is also possible that B1 and B4, B1 and B5, B1 and B3 existed together. If A survived changes in the complex B1–B5, not only A and B3, but even three structures could have existed at the same time. All this follows from the admission that the outline of the north-east edge of B1 is an evidence strong enough to lead to the assumption that there were once two structures contemporary at all.

What were these structures? The similarity of A, B1–B5 suggests that they were, in spite of a difference in size, functionally the same. They are the ruins of houses. In each of the structures a hearth (H) lies in the main axis, so that they were dwelling-houses and roofed over. The hearth is uniformly situated on the average at one-third of the length of the houses. Another feature common to all houses is that two lines divide the inner area into three aisles which run parallel to the main axis, and that the middle aisle with the hearth is broader than the two outer ones. A gap is visible in these aisles in the area around the hearth. The size of the houses is:

A: 4·80 to at least 9 m., partly cut away by sandpit.
B1: 4·10×7·30 : 3·90×7·80 m.
B2: 5·30×9·50 : 5·30×9·80 m.
B3: 5·40×9·80 : 4·10×10 m.
B4: 5×9·80 : 3·80×10 m.
B5: ?×10·50 : 5·60×? m.

The detailed analysis of the ground-plan of the houses is made rather difficult by the unfavourable conditions of the soil. This is shown on a section X–Y through house A (1–6 m.) and the western part of B2, B3 (8–10 m.) which is typical for the whole of the platform (fig. 5): under the modern humus H*a* lies a uniform brown humus H*b*. This humus H*b* changes into a zone of darkish sand impregnated by metal oxides, C, which is thicker and sometimes sticky inside the houses (C1). C and C1 contained small flakes of charcoal and very small bits of calcined bones. C1 lies on bleached white sand D, which occurs only where we have the layer C1. Under D, as under C, the untouched soil (sand) D is impregnated by metal oxides and a network of pan-iron bands E blurs the limit of D and C1 and the untouched sand. The pan-iron formations E are more extensive under C1 than under C. So it is impossible to say if the inner area of the house was sunk into an old turf-line. We cannot state exactly where the level of the surface of either inside or outside the houses had lain when the houses were inhabited. All

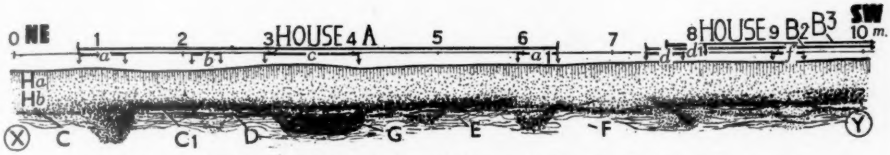


FIG. 5. Section X–Y (cf. fig. 3) through houses A, B 2, B 3. Scale *circa* 1:75.

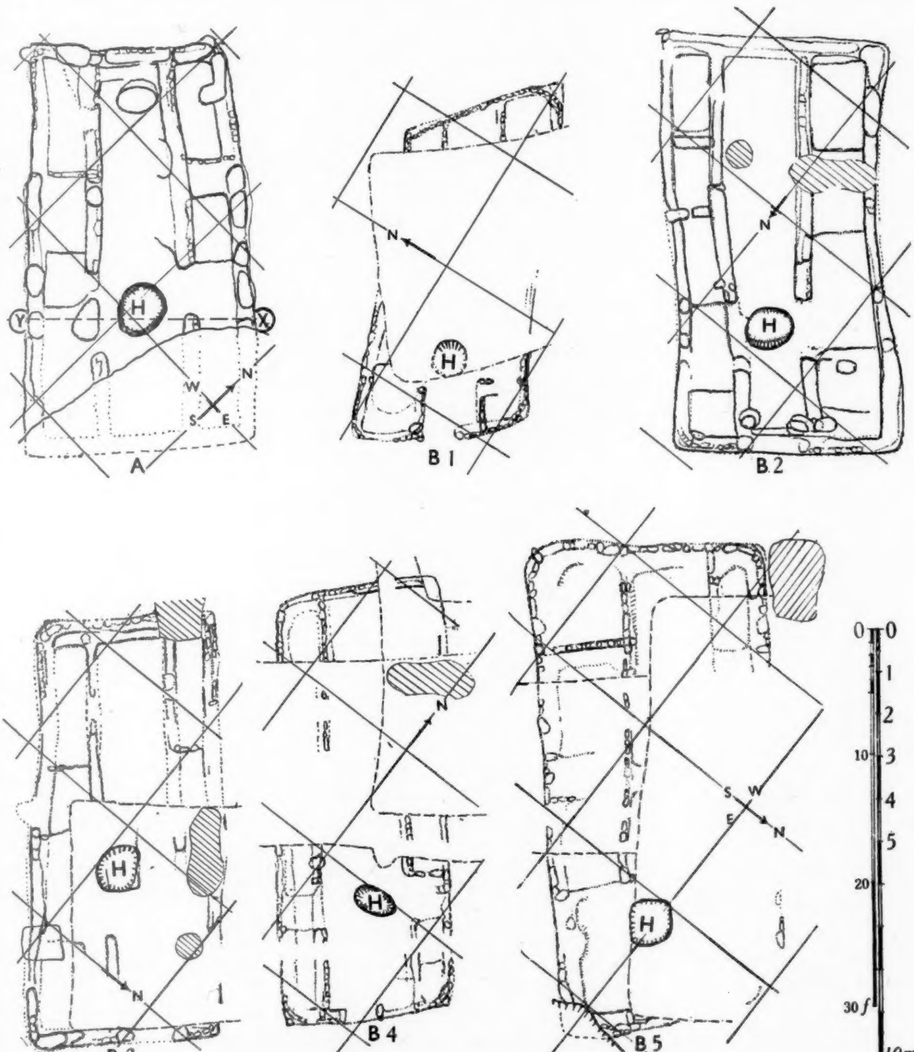


FIG. 6. Ground plan of houses A, B 1–B 5. Scale *circa* 1:150.

these layers in the zone of the old surface inside and outside the houses have been secondarily altered by agencies of water, percolating through the thick humus layer H*b*. The more marked alterations under the houses indicate that more organic material has decayed here than outside. The same agencies have also blurred the outline of trenches limiting the houses (*a*, *a*1 of A, *d* of B2, and *d*1 of B3) as of the aisles of A (*b*) and B2 (*f*) (the corresponding aisle to *b* of A in the east is not cut by our section at 5 m. where we have, at 5 m., a hole instead). The filling of these trenches (*a*, *b*, *d*, *d*1, *f*) is mostly lighter-coloured soil than inside the house. For unknown reasons this light colour changes sometimes to a darker one.

The Hearths

Flat pits (H) are somewhat more clearly defined. They are filled with layers of charcoal and of grey ashes, both mixed with some fragments of burnt clay and some splinters of calcined bones. No stones had been used to line these fire-places; they are cooking-pits. The exact level from which they are sunk in the ground is difficult to ascertain, as is their exact depth, but they are not deeper than 50 cm. No traces of reshaping of the pits were to be seen. They were not long in use and the amount of ashes in them could quickly accumulate. Not much ashes and charcoal are spread around the hearths and so there is no horizon defined by charcoal indicating the level of the surface inside the house in the area around the hearth. Our section (fig. 5), which gives at *c* a section through the hearth of A, with the dark filling G, is typical for all hearths. Hearths H1–H5 belong by their position to houses B1–B5 respectively. Another similar cooking-pit H lies in the north-east in *kgh*. No traces of surrounding walls were found, and its situation near the edge of the promontory precludes its having ever been surrounded by the walls of a house like the hearths in A or B1–B5. So this was a hearth in the open. A dark spot in *pb* in the level of the untouched soil may be a trace of a fire once kindled there.

The Walls of the Houses

The sections give no indications of the material of the walls or of the character of the floors of the houses. The thin layer of dark soil C1 and the still thinner layer C outside them indicate that they were not inhabited for a long time, and the absence of layers of charcoal and ashes shows that the houses were not destroyed by fire. The level of the dark layer C, C1 indicates further that the house A and those of the complex B1–B6 are the first remains of human activity on the site. As section fig. 5 (at 7·50–10 m.) shows, the floors of houses on top of each other are almost on the same level, and since they had no sunken floors and no humus grew in the interval between their reconstruction, they were built all at very short intervals. The fairly thick amount of humus H*b* indicates that considerable time has passed since the habitation came to an end. No structures were to be seen in *Hb*. The site was not again inhabited since A, B1–B5 had decayed.[1] The thickness

[1] So our site can be neither the 17th-century Fort Loyal nor the 'Danes Ffort' where a battery of '2 Sacres mounted' (*The Journal of the Manx Museum*, 1930, vol. ii, p. 20) had been. This

of humus H*b* (as everywhere on the edge of the brooghs) is to be explained by the fact that fine sand was blown up in dry weather from the shore by easterly winds and caught by the vegetation. The humus grows steadily as long as the surface is covered by vegetation. When it is bare, the wind carries the upper layers of this blown-up fine soil away again until vegetation gets a new foothold. A well-defined line in the humus, which is missing in H*b*, marks, on sites where this happened, such periods of secondary wind erosion.

The broad lines indicating walls and aisles of the houses in fig. 3 look in both the sections and the horizontal like foundation trenches for timber. The rounded corners of the houses preclude that horizontal timbers for a blockhouse construction were bedded in them. The rounded corners preclude also the use of dug-in single sleepers with notches to carry vertical timber-frames for light walls similar to the technique used for the barracks in Roman temporary or marching camps.[1] Some positive information was obtained when we took out the soil in the broad lines and out of the inner area of the houses (see fig. 6, where all the ground-plans are so arranged that the part with the hearth is at the bottom. The lines of the grid, figs. 2, 3, 4, are again put over these plans). It turned out that the broad lines are indeed foundation trenches and that in them in some places rows of small depressions running along the outer edges of them were to be seen. The formations of pan-iron hindered us from getting the exact depth of the depression in the trenches, but in the horizontal the outline was fairly clear to ascertain. These details give us for each of the houses only some knowledge about the construction of walls and arrangement of the interior. The general layout of the houses is the same, so I think we are right in using the detailed but defective information obtained from individual houses for all of them. In the south-east and south-west corners of B5, in the south-east and south-west corners of B4, in the four corners of B1 are such series of isolated small holes running in an arc which make the theory of a sleeper construction as foundation of the walls indeed impossible. Stout vertical timbers for massive wooden walls can also not have existed in these trenches. They would have been set in the middle of the trenches and in sharp angles at the corners. The dimensions of the small holes indicate stout vertical stakes which were set in at the edge of a previously dug shallow but broad foundation-trench. Interwoven with withes twisted between them, the stakes will have formed the wattle outer walls of the houses.[2] The wattle walls were certainly not daubed. No remains of fallen daub as a layer or lumps of clay were anywhere found in or near the houses in the sandy humus.

'Danes Ffort' might be anywhere. If it was near Ramsey, which is most likely, the Ballure site directly south of Ramsey seems possible (Kermode's *List*, p. 46, no. 3, under Parish Maughold, No. 2 in our map fig. 8) and the name 'Danes Ffort' may imply that this battery was erected on an older site. Fort Loyal, identical with the 17th-century New Fort, can be identified by entries in the manorial roll of the 18th century as sited at the present harbour-mouth (south side) where the harbour master's office is now. This was apparently overlooked by Kermode (*b* in fig. 7).

[1] For example, see I. A. Richmond, 'The Agricolan Fort at Fendoch', *P.S.A.S.* 1938–9, lxxiii, 110.

[2] Such wattle construction is known from Scandinavia, cf. Sigtuna, lowest level (Bengt Soderberg, 'Die Grabungen in Sigtuna', *Fornvännen*, xxxvii, 1942, p. 335, fig. 11).

THE WALLS OF THE AISLES

The walls of the aisles have in the horizontal the same appearance as the outer walls of the houses. Close-set stout vertical posts would have been useful as roof supports, as wattle walls are not very good for such a purpose. Such would have been a practical arrangement, as the widest span in houses A, B2, B5 is 5 m. But here again the holes in the trenches are too narrowly set, and their general appearance at the outer edge of the trenches, and the similar dimensions of these holes to those in the outer walls, make it much more likely that they also carried stakes of wattle walls. There is nothing against the presumption that some stronger stakes were specially interspersed in the wattle as roof supports, but no concrete evidence of this is available. In houses A, B1, B2, B4 are gaps in the walls of the aisles at both sides in the area of the hearth, and this, together with the evidence from B3 and B5, makes it certain that such a gap in the aisle was a general feature in the ground-plan of all the houses.

THE INSIDE OF THE HOUSES

a. The outer aisles. At house A, B1, B3, and B4 the outer aisles have the same width, at B2 and B5 they are of different width. In all cases each aisle is subdivided by partition walls running in a right angle from the wall of the aisle to the long outer wall. A good example of such a partition wall is preserved in the south-western corner of B5, suggesting again a wattle construction. Some of these partition walls are arranged symmetrically, so that they would provide suitable roof supports and give strength to the wattle construction, if the partition walls, or at least parts of them, reached as high as the roof. In cases where the foundations of these partitions walls are not preserved, slight differences in level, limited by straight lines, are indications of subdivisions of the outer aisle. So we have along the aisles four or five narrow rectangular compartments, on the average 2 m. long, with their main axis parallel to that of the houses. There are not many indications how these compartments were accessible. The little evidence suggests that each had a separate entrance from the middle aisle. Such a gap is preserved at B5 in the south-west corner, where the entrance lies between the outer short wall and the aisle. Another gap is to be seen in the south-west aisle of B3, where it is situated at some distance from the outer short wall, and another is similarly situated in the north-west aisle of A. It is uncertain if there had been narrow benches built against the outer wall. The lines indicating differences in level at B5, along the south-eastern long wall, and at B2 and B3, along the shorter wall in the north-east, may be indications of benches. The soil gives no clue for what purpose these compartments were used, and we can also not say if the partition walls reached the roofs or formed only low partitions.

b. The middle aisle. The middle aisles nowhere show subdivisions. At B5 and B3 there may have been a narrow bench at the southern end of the aisle farthest away from the hearth. Spread-out charcoal and ashes are found in such small quantities around the area of the hearth that this affords no indication as to whether this room had been divided in some way by screens or had any special features.

There are also no stronger post-holes or distinct markings where the walls of the aisles end in a gap at the hearth.

The Doors

Gaps leading into the houses from the middle of the short wall nearest to the hearths are well preserved in B1, B2, B3, B4, and less clearly in B5. On the other hand, it is evident that there was no door in the short wall farthest away from the hearth in all houses. So we can be certain that a door leading into the middle aisle from the short wall nearest the fire-place was a common feature of all houses. Nowhere are there indications that a door led into the interior from one of the long walls. In the diagram (fig. 4) the situation of the doors is marked with arrows. If we are right that only one door existed in the houses, then houses A, B2, and B4 were accessible from the zone between the edge of the platform and house, B3 and B5 from the small corridor between A and complex B, whereas the entrance to B1 is just opposite to that of B3 and B5 and opens towards the neck of the promontory. This arrangement affords, unfortunately, no clue as to the possible coexistence of two or three houses on the site, but it shows that the place of the door was not defined with regard to climatic conditions.

The Roofs

Wattle outer walls together with the support given by the wattle of internal walls (aisles and partitions) would be able to carry a solid roof cover. The ground-plan indicates that the short sides of the rectangle formed the gable end. There are no signs that the roof was tilted towards the interior of the house at the gable, so straight gables are to be supposed. A straight gable allows enough height for the door at the gable and for the middle aisle, and the outer walls could be kept relatively low. It would be technically difficult to put straight rafters on outer walls built of wattle, so the roof cover will have been laid on wattle functioning as rafters and some of the stakes of the outer walls will have been long enough to be bound together over the middle of the middle aisle. If the house had a sod roof, roofs curved in the direction of the long axis are to be supposed. Low outer walls would even permit the construction of straight thatched roofs with a ridge along the middle of the main axis and with wattle work functioning as rafters. There were no traces left to decide which kind of material was used for the roof. From the section it is certain that no sods had been built up against the outside of the walls. We paid much attention to this question, and in the humus (H*b*, fig. 5) no discoloration or pan-iron bands typical of decayed sods were to be seen outside or inside the foundation trenches of the walls. No additional strength was given to the outer walls, so no roof existed which could have been supported independently of the wattle walls by a sod bank. Therefore these houses had only a light roof cover. If we take all this into consideration, our houses do not look like houses built for duration but much more like temporary habitations. They were not built as temporary houses to be replaced by more solidly built ones (as happens sometimes in Roman farms), for it is very significant that houses of the same temporary character were rebuilt on the same spot at least three times successively

(B2, B3, and B4) and even four times, if B6 is the remains of yet another house. The change in the orientation of B2, B3, and B4 tells us that the site had been temporarily relinquished, and older houses had vanished completely, before newer ones were again built.

Houses A and B2 seem to have undergone repairs as indicated by the big oval holes in the walls. No such indications are visible for B1, B4, and B5.

From the evidence of the soil we do not know if the whole of the roofed-in area was used for the dwelling of the inhabitants or if the room not used for dwelling was needed for storage. It is unlikely that live stock was stabled in the aisles as no heavier deposits of secondarily altered soil occur in the aisles (from manure) than in the middle aisle of the houses and around the hearths. As the houses have all the same layout, the function of all was the same, and it is noteworthy that the scheme of the houses was rigidly followed when they were replaced by new ones. For unknown reasons the long axis is either orientated in the direction of the main axis of the oval platform towards the neck or at right angles to it.

So much we can learn from an analysis of the ground-plan by the evidence of the soil. Unfortunately, not a single find was made to tell us about the age of the houses. Bones perish quickly in sand like ours on Man, but some food-waste is indicated by the few fragments of cremated bones (remains of bones which came in contact with the fire in the cooking-pits).

Date of the Houses

The excavation has revealed a well-defined type of dwelling-house, a rectangular hall, subdivided parallel to the main axis in three aisles and with hearth on the main axis. This type of house is well known. Its pedigree leads back at least to the Iron Age of the first centuries B.C., and geographically it is confined to the dwelling of Germanic tribes on the coastal lands east of the British Isles. It is known from the Wharfs or Terpen in the Netherlands, Friesland, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and it is quite different from the contemporary Celtic round-house in the British Isles. It is further known from the later centuries in the first millennium A.D. as the house of the Vikings in Norway,[1] and was brought from there by the Vikings to the west as far as their colonies in Iceland and Greenland, as also to the Scottish Isles and to the mainland of Scotland. It developed later into other types according to the climatic and economic conditions of the new colonies.[2]

Even our very limited knowledge of the dwellings of the Dark Ages in the British Isles is not contrary to the supposition that this house is a type which was imported to the Celtic north-west of the British Isles by the Vikings, as it may have come earlier to southern parts of them by the Anglo-Saxons. As our type is most nearly related to the earliest type of house in the new Viking colonies, it can be dated to any time from the ninth century onwards and probably to the earlier times

[1] H. Shetelig and H. Falk, *Scandinavian Archaeology*, 1937, pp. 318 ff. For the earlier occurrences of the three-aisled long-house, see the short survey by F. Tischler in *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, 1948, xxiv, p. 233.

[2] For Greenland: Aage Roussel, *Farms and Churches in the Medieval Settlements of Greenland*, København, 1941, p. 202. For Iceland: M. Stenberger, *Forntida Gardar i Island*, København, 1943, p. 321.

of the Viking Age. Unfortunately the two excellent Viking houses of this type, the hall with three aisles, known from the Isle of Man—the so-called linear Megalithic alignments at the Braaid (Glendarragh, Marown)—have also produced no finds to date them.[1] These houses are valuable for our knowledge in so far as they show what the Viking house looked like on Man if it was built for permanent use. If a dating to the earlier stages of the Viking rule in Man may be right for typological reasons for permanent houses at the Braaid,[2] we do not know how long

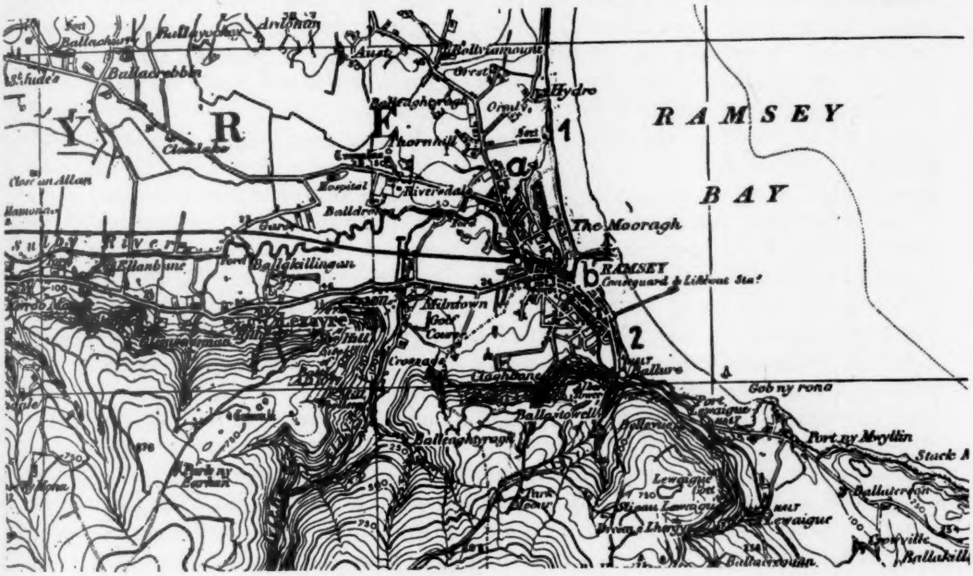


Fig. 7. The country around Fort Vowlan. 1. Promontory Fort Vowlan. 2. Coastal Fort Ballure. *a*, Hangman's Hill, *b*, present-day mouth of Sulby river.

Reproduced from the O.S. 1-in. Map with the sanction of the Comptroller of H.M. Stationery Office.

the type was maintained for temporary houses, for houses which, as we saw, do not look like farm-houses and which, as we shall see presently, may have been built for a very special purpose.

Purpose

If we accept the Viking Age as the date for our houses, we get from the situation of the site a further argument that our houses were not farm-houses. The outlook towards the south-west is hampered by rising ground which conceals considerable stretches of terrain (see map fig. 7, where our site is marked with 1). The greatest part of the broad Sulby valley, the fords over the river, and even the tidal point of the river are not visible from it. Moreover, our fort can be easily overlooked from

[1] *Antiq. Journ.*, 1942, xxii, 39 ff.

[2] Cf. the evidence from Hvalsey, Greenland, fig. 87 in Aage Roussel, *loc. cit.*, or the evidence from Isleifsstadir, Iceland, figs. 97, 104 in Stenberger, *loc. cit.*

the high mountains on the south bank of the river. Our site is placed in complete disregard of any danger coming from land. The Vikings had not to fear attacks from a large population, but they had to fear raiders coming from the sea, and a farm on such a site as ours would mean that they were just exposed to such raids. For the fort lies above a shore where boats could easily be beached, and—this is important—it lies just where once the Sulby river may have reached the sea, the Mooragh lake to the south of it being to-day the remnant of this estuary.[1] Our promontory overlooks an excellent landing-place with easy communication farther inland. Seen in this light it is an ideal site for the landing of a raiding-party which could beach their boats on the broad shore or anchor them in the estuary. The promontory would be useful for a detached force which could guard the boats from a secure place, when the main force of the raiders went inland. A guard left behind would be sheltered in the temporarily built houses and a light defensive work would be sufficient to protect the houses. When the raiders left, the site was abandoned. The reconstructions suggest that such an event directed against the fertile Ayre happened several times at short intervals. The uniformity of the ground-plan of the houses, which was maintained in each reconstruction, is an indication of a well-organized community like a military force. We do not know how many people could be sheltered in one house, but the small compartments along the outer aisles could be regarded as sleeping-quarters. If there was enough room in one house to shelter the crew of one ship, the site could have been also used as an intermediate station for overhauling damaged boats, for provisioning food or water, or when, during a period of a bad season between raids on the neighbouring coasts of the Irish Sea, the boats were beached or lay safe in the estuary, during which time the crews lived in temporarily built houses on land. Ramsey Bay is still commonly used to-day as a shelter during gales. This theory would be more probable if we could prove that more than one house existed at the same time, as we hear that such raids were usually undertaken by several ships. It is very much to be regretted that nothing can be brought out about the character of the defences towards the land, as this might shed more light on the purpose of the houses.[2]

We know from what the sagas tell in general about Viking enterprises that such a promontory could have been used for either purpose, as shelter for a rearguard, guarding the ships of the invaders, or as a temporary base. The existing historical records give no possibility of connecting our site with a special event in the early history of Man. From the general historical situation we can only say that quite often in the earlier and even later history of Man events happened when such a type of promontory could have been temporarily used in this way.

[1] Such is the local tradition, and it is likely that it was so. But G. V. Lamplugh, *The Geology of the Isle of Man*, 1903, p. 430, does not establish that the Sulby river flowed out at the N. end of Mooragh.

[2] The situation alone disposes of the theory that our site was Hangman's Hill (*a* on map, fig. 7), the place of watch and ward, and that our houses were the temporary shelters of the people in the look-out. For even if the Vikings had already the system of watch and ward, there are much more suitable sites for such purposes available in its neighbourhood on higher ground with wider outlook. William Cubbon has identified this Hangman's Hill with a place 90 ft. high some 2,000 yards south of our promontory at the edge of the broogh above the Mooragh (*Proc. I.M.N.H.A.S.* iii, 258).

Short Survey of Other Promontory Forts on Man

So it is not astonishing that among some twenty coastal forts—some more may have been destroyed by erosion, see n. 3, p. 78—on the shores of Man there are other sites which could be used for the same purpose, as many are built on similarly situated sites with disregard of danger from the land, but in connexion with good landing-places. On the map fig. 8 twenty-one known promontory or coastal forts on Man are marked with numbers which correspond to the numbers set in square

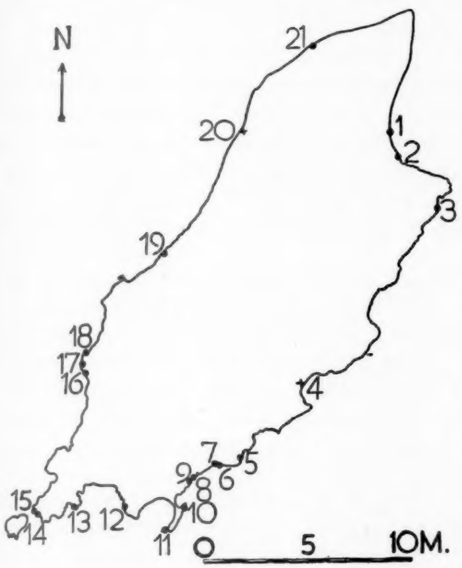


Fig. 8. Distribution of promontory and coastal forts on Man:

1. Vowlan
2. Ballure
3. Gob ny Garvain
4. Little Switzerland, Douglas
5. Santon Head (near to it)
6. Cronk ny Merriu
7. Purt ny Ceabagh
8.–9. Cass ny Hawin
10. St. Michael's Island
11. Langness Point
12. Close ny Chollagh
13. Towlfoggy
14. Burroo Ned
15. The Parade
16. Niarbyl
17. Creg Lea
18. Dalby Point (near to it)
19. Ballanayre Strand
20. Ballaugh Burn Fort (16th century)
21. Gob Gorm

brackets in the following text. As none of these forts is surveyed in detail and none properly excavated, only general suggestions can be made.

There is first a *group A* which we regard as being of Viking or post-Viking date. On both sides of the mouth of the Santon river, at Cass ny Hawin [**8**, **9**], lies one promontory fort of our size (damaged by erosion) with a ditch across the neck and surrounded by an earthen bank. The southern one [**9**] has inside it the ruin of a rectangular long-house.[1] In Patrick parish a promontory about 330 yards north of Dalby Point [**18**], surrounded by ditch and circular bank, shows also the ruin of a similar long-house, and the fort again lies above the mouth of a small river.[2] The nearby fort Creg Lea [**17**], of similar aspect, does not lie on a river,[3] but we have again on the opposite coast of Man, in Arbory, at Close ny Chollagh Point [**12**],

[1] [8] Kermode, *List*, p. 68, no. 6; [**9**] *ibid.*, p. 72, no. 4.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 7, no. 2.

[3] *Ibid.*, no. 3. B. Megaw informs me that remains of another eroded fort not on the map, and not mentioned by Kermode, are south of Creg Lea overlooking Niarbyl Bay [**16**].

not near to a river, such a fort with ditch and surrounding bank and with a rectangular building inside.[1]

Another series like the two forts at Port Grenaugh,[2] one called Cronk ny Merriu [6] overlooking Port Grenaugh beach at the mouth of a river, the other a similar fort near by overlooking Purt ny Ceabagh [7], has a still smaller area than our promontory. A deep ditch and, behind it, a high short bank, built up of earth, run across the neck, and there is no indication that the bank once surrounded the platform. This may be a variant of our type, and a general date for it is given by the still visible remains of a rectangular house inside Cronk ny Merriu. So, for all these defensive works, and by analogy also for the similarily situated site Cashtal ree Gorree, Gob Gorm [21], Andreas,[3] a late date with Viking or post-Viking associations is given by the rectangular buildings inside, with Cass ny Hawin, Cronk ny Merriu, and Close ny Chollagh as type sites. To this group would belong, by situation, in outline and dimensions, the fort near Ballanayre Strand [19];[4] from evidence of the Ordnance Survey maps the now-overbuilt fort near Little Switzerland in Douglas [4] (not in Kermode's *List*), as the also overbuilt and almost completely eroded fort at Ballure, Ramsey [2] and 2 in fig. 7.[5]

Also looking like Viking or post-Viking forts are the small earthen fort on St. Michael's Island [10][6] and the fort on the site 'The Parade' [15],[7] which is still the landing-place for boats to and from the Calf of Man. This promontory is the only example of a promontory with, originally, three banks and three ditches following one another without interspace (evidence from the O.S. maps). To-day only one ditch and one bank are preserved. It has a diameter of 200 ft. Still another type is represented by the forts on Langness Point [11],[8] the long narrow peninsula jutting out into Castletown Bay and providing shelter for big fleets of shallow-draught craft. Here the neck is crossed by two systems of bank and ditch, which can hardly be contemporary, as the outer bank is built with a face of heavy stones whereas the inner bank, some 100 yards from the outer, is built of earth. This easily defensible, but uncomfortable and low-lying, site can only have been chosen by people who had to take into consideration attacks coming from the land. Its situation resembles in some ways the position of promontories like the Porth Dinllaen peninsula (west of Nevin in Caernarvonshire), where remains of rectangular long-houses are to be seen, or Llanddwyn Island (no island but a peninsula) north of the Menai Straits in Anglesey. Such sites are ideally situated places for isolated pirates like those who 'took a Ness' as described in the *Heimskringla*, or as

[1] Kermode, *List*, p. 78, no. 3, identical with *ibid.*, p. 73, no. 8.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 68, nos. 3 and 4. A very ruined promontory (perhaps Kermode, *List*, p. 67, no. 2) lies north of these two in Santon [5]. Bank and ditch are definite, but the area on the seaward site is small and steeply sloping, perhaps a good deal eroded or slipped towards the sea. (Information kindly supplied by B. Megaw).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 32, no. 1. On this coast the strong erosion may have destroyed other promontories, for B. Megaw informs me that a 16th-century fortification, Ballaugh Burn Fort [20], not mentioned in Kermode, was eroded away completely by 1700.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 14, no. 1.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 46, no. 3 (see also p. 70, n. 1).

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 73, no. 5.

[7] Not mentioned by Kermode.

[8] Not mentioned by Kermode. A bank near the lighthouse looks modern.

temporary bases for units of big fleets which had to seek shelter at places where they would be unmolested by the natives.

It is obvious that many such temporary bases must have existed everywhere in Viking times for intermediate stops on the long journeys with relatively small and vulnerable craft. Some of them will have been visited quite often, if they proved suitable for their purpose; others will have been visited only once in an emergency.

A quite distinct *group B* of promontory forts is represented on Man by the fort on Burroo Ned [14] in Rushen, which encloses a much bigger area (200 m. diameter).[1] Its situation is very similar to the fort on St. David's Head, Pembrokeshire.[2] The high inaccessible cliffs against the sea leave no room for landing-beaches. The enclosed area provides a wide outlook over land and sea. The situation and character of the defences differ from those on the promontories mentioned above. The bank shows a face of heavy stones and, very significant, there are preserved inside Burroo Ned traces of the circular huts characteristic of the Celtic population, so that we may have in Burroo Ned a type of coastal defence of pre-Viking date like those in south Wales.[3] To this group may also have belonged the fort Towlfoggy [13] overlooking Perwick Bay,[4] and the fort at Gob ny Garvain [3].[5]

It is hardly necessary to point out that this classification of promontory and coastal forts on Man is tentative.

The scanty attention paid so far to the forts on the coast of the Irish Sea gives us no ground for deciding whether the relatively great number of forts on the Isle of Man that we assume to be contemporary with the Viking and early medieval period (16 out of 20) are more or less numerous there than on the shores of Scotland, England, Wales, and Ireland.[6] In other words, we may ask: Were such strongposts built for preference on a favourably situated island such as Man, where no numerous native population would be a menace to such small places? We can only draw attention to this problem. Further research must decide whether the conclusions drawn from the excavation at Ramsey Bay on Man are more than a general indication of the problems posed by these modest but interesting sites.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 84, no. 4 (defences not on the O.S. maps).

[2] *Inventory of the County of Pembroke*, 1925, no. 943.

[3] *Arch. Camb.*, 1939, p. 210; 1940, p. 9; 1941, p. 23.

[4] Kermode, *List*, p. 84, no. 3; plan and description by R. Bruce in *Proc. I.M.N.H.A.S.* iv, no. 3 (1941), p. 337.

[5] Kermode, *List*, p. 47, no. 5.

[6] Th. J. Westropp's valuable descriptions and sketches of promontories on the Irish coast published in *P.R.I.A.* and *J.R.S.A.I.* show that the same types of promontories as on Man exist also in Ireland. Not represented on Man are the big headland forts like that in townland Drumanagh (Co. Dublin), Loughshinny, similar to that at Fifeness (*Inventory of Fife*, no. 120) on the east coast of Scotland. The Parade [15] is the only promontory on Man of somewhat similar aspect, but it is much smaller.

NOTES

A Round Barrow near Haresfield, Gloucestershire.—Mr. Charles Green sends the following note:—In 1903 William Bellows[1] opened a round barrow 'about one mile east of the Roman Camp at Haresfield, and close to the road from there to Horsepools . . . at 825 feet above sea-level'.

The barrow was 63 ft. in diameter and stood 6 ft. above the surrounding field. 'A trench was cut into its eastern face' and 'at a very few feet in, and close to the ground-level, . . . revealed a beautiful stone cist, arched over with carefully poised slabs. It was pentagonal in shape and measured 2 ft. 6 in. across, its perfectly level floor being composed of burnt earth some 4 to 5 inches deep. This earth . . . was found to contain fragments of human bones . . . distorted by partial cremation. . . . The most interesting "find", however, was a small, beautifully formed oval flint scraper . . . which lay in one corner of the cist . . . nothing else was discovered and no further chamber came to light.'

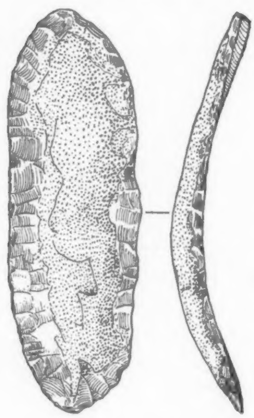


FIG. 1. ($\frac{1}{1}$)

In 1924 Mr. Bellows deposited these remains in the Gloucester Museum, where they are now. They are here republished as they have features of special interest. The description given above suggests that this was a secondary interment, the primary one being probably in a pit below the level of the original surface and consequently overlooked by the excavator.

The feature of real interest, however, is the 'scraper', which is a typical example of the 'plano-convex' knife described by Clark; it may be added to the eight examples quoted in his 'Table 6—Associated with Unaccompanied Cremations'.[2]

The knife is 60·5 mm. long and 20 mm. at its greatest width (fig. 1). The flake is curved longitudinally, retains its bulb of percussion and striking-platform, and has its extremity rounded. A considerable part of the convex surface still retains some of the cortex of the nodule from which it was struck, though this cortex has been reduced in thickness. The colour of the flint is bluish-grey, mottled with white.

Clark shows conclusively that these knives are a feature of the 'food-vessel' complex, most strongly developed in north-east Britain.[3] Evidences of this culture, however, do not seem to have been recorded before from the Cotswolds,[4] though the evidence is insufficient to do more than suggest that the archaeological record may be faulty.

That this is probably true is suggested by the recent finding of another plano-convex knife, at Hampnett near Northleach on the eastern side of the Cotswolds, in one of a group of barrows excavated by Grimes in 1940–1.[5]

Several barrows with primary interments below the level of the original surface have been found in the central Cotswolds, one containing beaker sherds.[6] It seems probable, therefore, that

[1] W. Bellows, 'Opening of a Round Barrow near Haresfield, Glos.', *Proc. Cotteswold Nat. Field Club*, xv, 258.

[2] J. G. D. Clark, 'The Date of the Plano-Convex Flint Knife in England and Wales', *Antiq. Journ.* xii, 158 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] C. Fox, *The Personality of Britain*, 2nd ed., pl. III.

[5] Report forthcoming. Mentioned by B. H. St. J. O'Neil, 'War and Archaeology in Britain', *Antiq. Journ.* xxviii, 20 ff.

[6] G. F. Playne, 'On the Early Occupation of the Cotteswold Hills by Man', *Proc. Cotteswold Nat. Field Club*, v, 277–93.

our barrow was of Early Bronze Age date and the cremation here described, a secondary intrusion of the Early Middle Bronze Age, the period to which these knives belong.

Grooved ware from West Runton, Norfolk.—Mrs. A. S. R. Gell contributes the following note: The vessel illustrated (Fig. 1) was found at West Runton, Norfolk, in 1946. Thirty yards to the left of the end of Water Lane, the road which leads from the village to the beach, a fall of the cliff invited inspection. Only 2½ ft. of the cliff face, which is here composed of contorted drift, was visible, the rest being obscured by fallen sand lying at the angle of rest. Sherds which all proved to belong to the same pot were exposed on the fallen sand, also a scrap of A beaker, some flint flakes, and numerous core hammer-stones. Immediately above these finds, in the face of the cliff, was a mass of blackish sand, which on trial excavation appeared to be much disturbed and contained no relics. In the topmost part of this sand, however, two skeletons were observed 2 ft. below the top of the cliff. On the right-hand side the mass developed into a hard crust containing charcoal and broken shells. The sand above and below this crust had fallen away, leaving hanging at an oblique angle what had probably once been a level floor. It was not possible to say that the pottery was associated with any one of these features, and further examination of the site was abandoned when the area was closed owing to danger from mines.

FIG. 1. (¼)

However, the vessel itself is of a certain interest as it belongs without doubt to the Grooved Ware series and is paralleled closely at the type sites at Clacton, Essex. The clay is smooth and hard, with large flint grits, dark grey in colour, burnt red on both surfaces. The form is typical, but the chisel-shaped rim section shows rather more modelling than is usual in Grooved Ware. The decoration is scratched, as is most of the Clacton pottery. The pattern consists of a series of lozenges in triple or quadruple lines, but was probably executed as two rows of V's, since the lines in most cases stop short at the crossings. This feature is also seen at Clacton.[1]

Mr. D. H. S. Frere has argued that the Grooved Ware people were obliged to migrate from Essex and the Fenland during the nineteenth century B.C. owing to marine transgression, and he suggests that this took place shortly before the A beaker invasion.[2] Where this site comes in the Grooved Ware series cannot be said for certain until the association with A beaker, suggested by the fragment found, has been confirmed. Although typologically the ware could be contemporary with the Clacton material, if the association with A beaker is significant it can be attributed to a date after the marine transgression of the nineteenth century B.C.

A bronze pole-sheath from the Charioteer's Barrow, Arras, Yorkshire.—Sir Cyril Fox, President, contributes the following: In reconstructing the remains of a wooden shaft reinforced with iron from Llyn Cerrig Bach, Anglesey, as the end of a draught-pole of a chariot[3] the writer remarked that 'no structural fragment of this sort is known to survive from Iron Age Britain'. This note draws attention to an important example, the bronze sheath of such a pole from the Charioteer's Barrow at Arras (pl. IX, *c*). This sheath was figured by Canon Greenwell in *Archaeologia*, lx, 284; I have been able to study and republish it by the courtesy of Mr. R. Wagstaffe, Keeper of the Yorkshire Museum, and Mr. D. Waterman, Assistant in Archaeology. It is

[1] *P.P.S.* (1936), pl. XL, no. 3.
[2] *Antiq. Journ.* xxiii (1943), p. 39.
[3] *A Find of the Early Iron Age from Llyn Cerrig Bach, Anglesey*, 1946, p. 23, pl. XX and fig. 12.

structurally complete, and its similarity in important details to the Llyn Cerrig fragment confirms the identification and reconstruction of that piece.

The sheath has been a puzzle since it was found in the Barrow by the Rev. Mr. Stillingfleet in 1846. Greenwell quotes from his original note-book as follows: 'On the body of this charioteer had been placed two horns, one of which with part of its outer case of thin brass plate was found pretty entire.'[1] If this association with the deer's horns had not been stressed, and if the object had been illustrated by Greenwell in a horizontal position instead of upright, the alternative suggestion actually recorded by him, apologetically (p. 283), that it was 'the end of the pole of the chariot', could not have been overlooked by students.

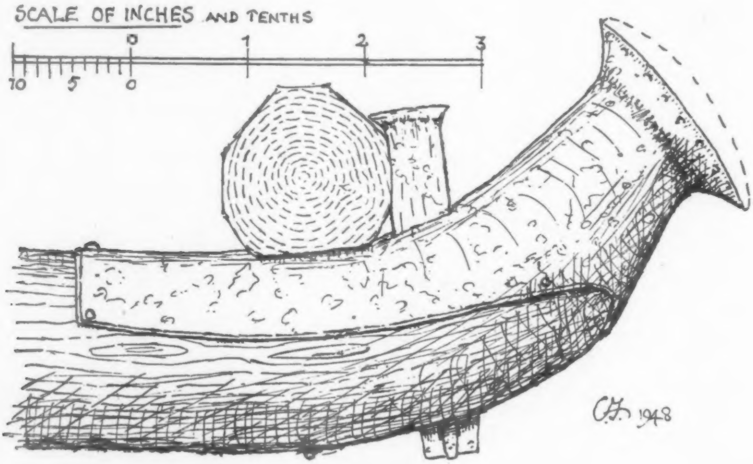


FIG. 1.

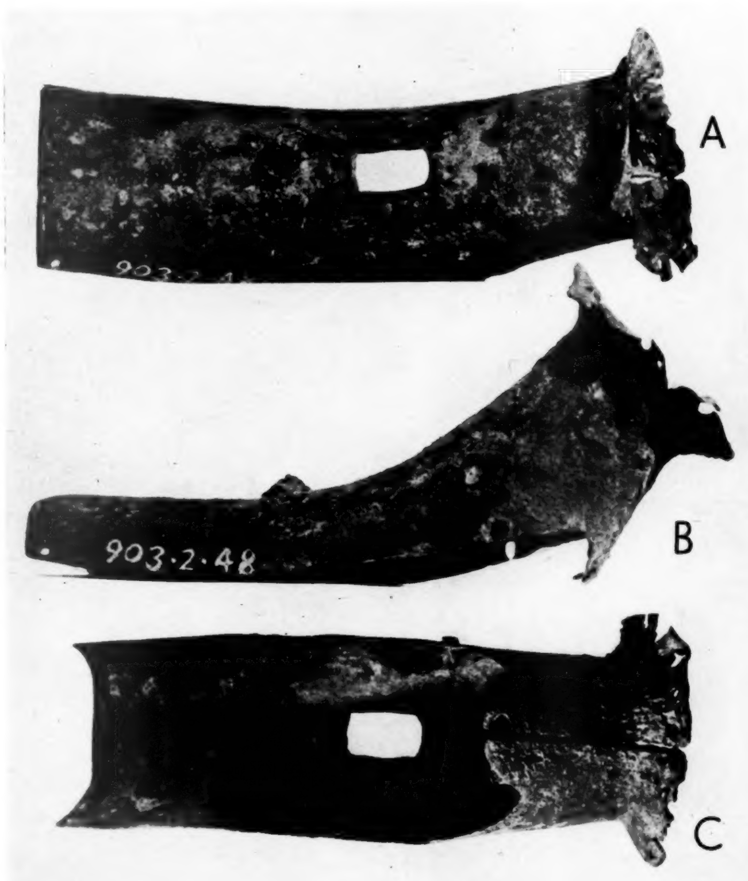
The primary purposes of a sheath or any sort of reinforcement are to prevent wear of the pole by the friction of the yoke-bar and to strengthen the pole-tip at a critically important point where the iron pin to which the yoke-bar was lashed passed through the wood and so weakened it.

Our sheath is made of sheet bronze and is 5·65 in. long. It is in good condition, having a dark green patination with brighter viridian patches. It is shown in pl. IX, *c* as seen from the top (A), the side (B), and the bottom (C), and in the reconstruction (fig. 1) it is fitted on a pole-tip. The functional part is of inverted **U** section, fitting on the pole like a saddle: the width here diminishes from 1·7 in. (at the chariot end) to 1·5 in., the length being 4·5 in. The rectangular hole seen at the top for the iron pin has sides curved slightly outwards and measures 14–15 mm. long and 8–9 mm. broad (say, 0·6 in. by 0·35 in.). The pin was of iron, judging by the extensive iron rust inside the sheath near the opening; this rust has combined with the wet decaying wood to form fibrous-looking red patches on the bronze wall. There is an iron rivet, with square head set diagonally, on the centre line at the top where the yoke-bar sat (pl. IX, *c* (A) and (B)); this it may be surmised passed through the pole and was capped and burred into the wood at the lower end. Another hole, 3 mm. in diameter, centrally situated at the chariot end of the sheath probably carried a less heavy iron nail. To keep the bronze tight on the wood there are, in addition, seven small nail-holes spaced out on the edge of the plate. Two, open, and one with its bronze nail-head, are seen in pl. IX, *c* (B).

[1] These objects are of deer's horn; see *Archaeologia*, lx, 283, fig. 25.

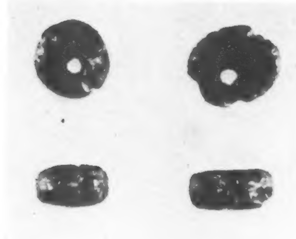
a. Container of late fourth-century hoard from Corinium ($\frac{1}{2}$)

b. Roman *graffito* from London ($\frac{1}{2}$)

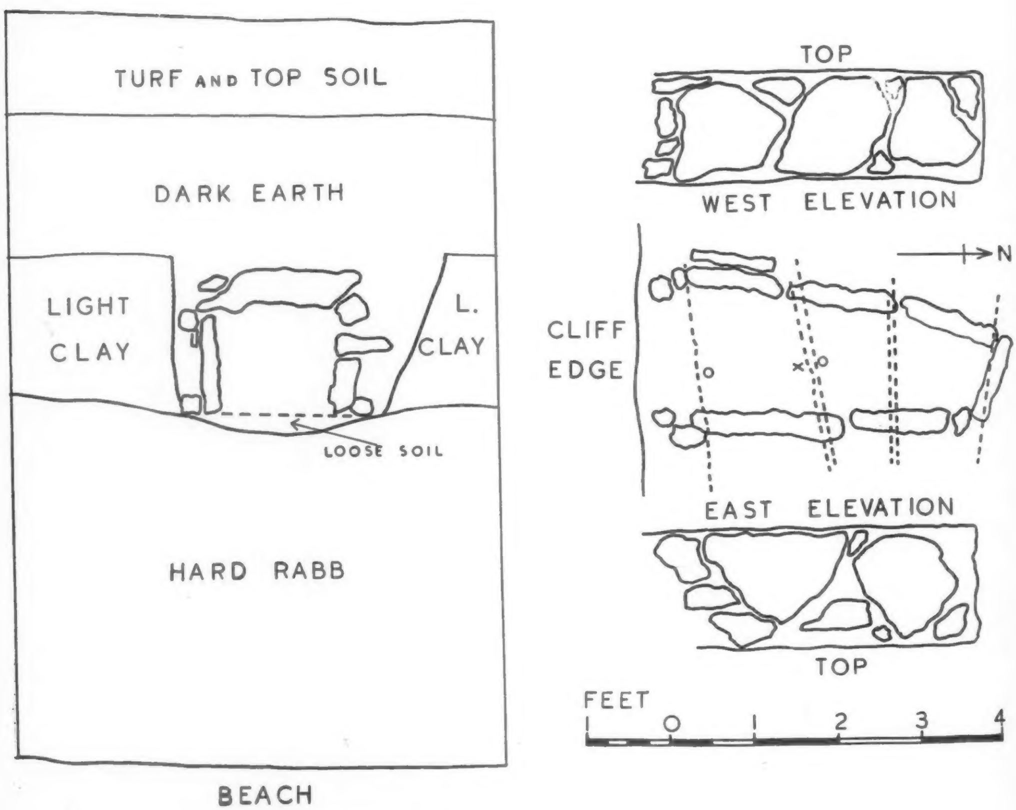


c. Bronze pole-sheath from the Charioteer's Barrow, Arras, E. Yorks. ($\frac{3}{4}$)

a. Concretion or object of iron from cist on St. Martin's, Scilly ($\frac{1}{1}$)



b. Amber beads from cist on St. Martin's, Scilly ($\frac{1}{1}$)



c. Section, plan, and elevations of cist on St. Martin's, Scilly

The tubular portion of the sheath, 1·3 in. in length and 1·5 in. diminishing to 1·3 in. in diameter, curves steeply upward and is ornamental rather than functional. The lipped end (best seen in pl. XI, *c* (B)) is 2·0 in. in overall diameter, its broad and flat rim—much bent and damaged—having fourteen rivet-holes and perhaps traces of others, not equally spaced. Undoubtedly there was a disc of some brightly coloured material closing the end, probably domed (see fig. 1), which was fragile and had to be replaced in the course of the life of the vehicle the sheath adorned; its situation between the ponies' necks of course rendered it liable to hard knocks. Here one rivet-head survives, of iron, and therefore presumably a replacement.

Underneath, the joint of this tubular portion of the sheath extends down to and bisects the tongue which helps to make the fitting secure on the pole—witness the nail-hole seen in pl. IX, *c* (C). This joint was closed and the tube made rigid by a strip of iron riveted on to the inside, but it has opened as a result of the decay of the metal (pl. IX, *c* (C)). One rivet-head, square, is here visible. Finally, there is a delicate groove (best seen in (B)) round the edge of the sheath 1 mm. from its edge; this is a common feature in Celtic art works in bronze.

The sketch, fig. 1, already referred to, is drawn to scale; an iron pin is shown, as is the yoke-bar, in section where it clears the sheath and pin. The bar would have been lashed to the pole, the pin preventing it from slipping backward or forward thereon as the ponies pulled or checked. That the sheath covers the upper part of the pole only is probably due to the scarcity of bronze in Yorkshire at the time it was made.[1]

One general comment may be permitted in this note. The slenderness of the pole as indicated by the size of the sheath is a remarkable feature. It was, as we have seen, about 1·7 in. in greatest diameter, the hole for the yoke pin being 0·6 in. × 0·35 in. Now the Llyn Cerrig pole-tip was 2·4 in. in greatest diameter, the hole 1·0 in. × 0·45 in.[2] That is, the pole and its fittings were probably little more than half the volume and weight of those of the Llyn Cerrig chariot; and since in a structure of this sort the size of all the parts would necessarily be closely correlated, this should apply also to the chariot bodies. Now the Arras pole-sheath had been used and damaged, and was most carefully wrought; it was not part of a light funerary vehicle.

How then are we to account for such a difference? It may be that the technique of the Parisian wright was superior to that of the maker of the Llyn Cerrig vehicle, or that there were two classes of chariot in use in Britain, a light chariot for ceremonial parade or social calls, and a heavier chariot for war—a likely state of affairs where a military aristocracy was concerned.

A late fourth-century hoard and its container from Corinium.—Lady (Aileen) Fox, F.S.A., and Mr. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, V.-P. S.A., contribute the following: Whilst rearranging the contents of the *Corinium* Museum for the Cirencester Urban District Council in October 1947, I found that one of the coarse pots contained a small packet of coins. The accession number B1471 showed that the vessel was part of the late Lord Bathurst's collection, made up of Roman objects found in Cirencester in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. No special find-place was entered in the register, but the coins were there recorded as being in the pot.[3] As both pot and coins were recognizable as late Roman types, it was presumed that the two constituted a hoard, and the coins were therefore sent to Mr. B. H. St. J. O'Neil for examination.

The pot (pl. IX, *a*) is a small squat vessel, with everted rim and a well-marked neck; it measures 4 in. high, 3½ in. rim diameter, increasing to 4½ in. on the body; about a third of the rim is missing. It is made of coarse dark grey clay, containing a good deal of pounded shell as 'backing'. The surface is black, except the neck which is grey in irregular patches, due probably to bad stacking in the kiln. The body of the pot has been lightly combed (with ? twigs) when still

[1] *Op. cit.* (Llyn Cerrig), p. 63.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 92.

[3] The coin collection from Cirencester is not included in the museum register and has always been kept in separate cabinets: the risk of casual contamination can therefore be eliminated.

damp and on the wheel; the marks can be seen in the photograph. The little pot is not well made; the base in particular is rough, and a hollow where the clay was set on the wheel and a 'seam' between base and body are visible. The letter C has been incised and then pecked out on the shoulder.

This sort of ware is often pitted owing to the shell particles having dissolved, and is generally known as vesiculated ware. It occurs in several localities in the late Roman period from the mid-fourth century onwards. Some closely dated fragments were found at the legionary fortress at Caerleon, Monmouthshire, in a reoccupied barrack block in association with coins of Valentinian and Valens.[1]

The *Corinium* pot is dated by its contents to the very end of the Roman period. I regard it as the sort of local product that is likely to have continued to be made in the ensuing Dark Ages, particularly in a centre such as *Corinium*, in which on historical grounds a debased Roman civilization may well have lingered till the Saxon conquest of the region following the battle of Dyrham. A. F.

The coins or fragments of coins number ten, of which three are illegible, but almost certainly of the fourth century A.D. There is one of Constans of the usual two victories type (VICTORIAE DD AVGG Q NN) with mint-mark $\frac{\mathrm{D}}{\quad}$, and two of Constantius II or Constans FEL TEMP REPARATIO, one the common legionary spearing fallen horseman type, the other showing the emperor in galley; in neither case is the mint-mark legible and in the last case only one quarter of the coin occurs, having been cut off a whole coin in antiquity. There is one very worn Valentinian I SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE (mint-mark illegible). The other three coins are examples of the latest bronze Roman currency minted in the west, one of Theodosius I (VICTORIA AVGGG type), the other two of the House of Theodosius I, one each of the same type and of SALVS REIPVBLICAE; no mint-marks are legible. The last may be of Eugenius, in which case it was minted between A.D. 392 and 394. In any case none of them was minted after A.D. 395. The coin of Theodosius I has been clipped; the other two are rather worn.

This collection of coins, having apparently been found in the pot, may be termed a hoard, although a very small one. Its composition resembles that of other Theodosian bronze hoards. The latest coins by their wear and clipping may have seen considerable use, but this should not be exaggerated, and the coins by themselves do not suggest that they were concealed after *c.* A.D. 450. B. H. St. J. O'N.

A Roman graffito from the City of London.—Mr. Gilbert Askew, F.S.A., contributes the following note:—The Museum of the Barnet Record Society contains a small collection of Roman pottery fragments from the City of London, lent by F. W. Peters, Esq., included in which is the sherd here illustrated (pl. IX, *b*). It has formed part of a Samian bowl of form Drag. 18, and bears the letters IMA LEG IX which may be expanded to read IMAGINIFER LEGIONIS IX. The name of the *imaginifer* no doubt appeared on the part of the vessel now lost. The sherd was found some years ago during excavations in Upper Thames Street, near the bottom of Dowgate Hill, and was obtained by Mr. Peters from a private collector. According to expert opinion, it is of the Flavian period, and can be dated about A.D. 80.[2]

Cist at St. Martin's, Scilly.—The Rev. H. A. Lewis, St. Martin's, Scilly, sends the following note:—A fall of cliff late in 1946 revealed the open end of a small chamber or cist, the seaward

[1] 'Excavations in Myrtle Cottage Orchard', *Arch. Camb.* 1940, p. 147, nos. 30–2 and pl. IX, where references to other sites are given.

[2] *J.R.S.*, xxxviii, 103–4.

end of which had apparently fallen on to the beach. Two large stones, which were almost certainly part of the original structure, were found among the debris below. A third stone may have been part of it, but, if so, had been thrown clear of the debris. The site is on the southern shore of St. Martin's opposite St. Martin's Flats between Knacky-boy Carn and Yellow Rock Carn, the O.S. reference being long. 6° 17′ 27″ W., lat. 49° 30′ 41″ N. The land close to the cliff is here now about 10 to 12 ft. above high water. It is flat with little sign of blown sand, but with a thick layer of dark earth under the topsoil and overlying a thick deposit of light-coloured clay. The cist lay at between 3 ft. and 4 ft. 6 in. below the surface and had clearly been constructed in a pit dug into the light-coloured clay. Its floor was the natural 'rabb' or subsoil over rock.

The plan, section, and elevations of the sides of the cist (pl. x) show the nature of the construction. Slabs on edge form the walls with small stones in the crevices, and three capstones cover all that is now preserved. No stone shows signs of having been worked. The overall length of the cist, as now preserved, is just under 4 ft., and its height from surface of the 'rabb' to the under side of the capstones is just over 1 ft. When first noticed by me this cist contained only a very little deposit of soil, there being only a few inches at the seaward end, which may have fallen in when the cliff fell away, revealing the cist. One islander later told me that he had noticed the hole some months earlier, but apparently had not thought it of sufficient interest to mention; in any case he is of undoubted integrity and knows my interest in antiquities well enough to have shown me anything he might have abstracted. Children or other riflers would in my opinion have left more deposit of rubbish behind. It seems certain, therefore, that the contents of the cist had not been disturbed before my visit.

My excavation consisted in scraping clean the floor of the cist. Three objects only were found, as indicated on the plan, two brownish-yellow amber beads (O on plan) and a fibula-shaped ferruginous specimen (X on plan) (pl. x). There were no traces of bones, potsherds, or even dark earth. Professor F. E. Zenner states that the iron-like specimen weakly attracts the magnet, and, if natural, is a curious *lusus naturae*, but so far no archaeologist has accepted it as an undoubted iron fibula.

Bronze and gilt buckle from Bourton on the Water, Gloucestershire.—Mrs. Helen O'Neil sends the following note:—While work on digging a trench for drainage was being carried out during December 1946 in the field adjoining the southern ramparts of Salmonsbury Camp, Bourton on the Water,[1] sherds, animal bones, dark earth, and some stones were disturbed. An examination of the site showed the existence of a series of rubbish-pits of varying sizes scattered over an area roughly measuring 150 yards by 60 yards and reaching to the road by the river Windrush. The pits measured from 6 to 11 ft. in width and from 2 ft. 9 in. to 3 ft. 9 in. in depth. Large quantities of sherds were recovered from a dark earthy filling, ranging from a depth of 8 in. to 3 ft.

Amongst the objects found was a broken buckle (fig. 1). The buckle proper, which is of bronze, seems originally to have been shaped like a figure of eight, but one-half of this has disappeared along with the tongue. The position of rest of the tongue may, however, be seen in a shallow depression at the back of the ornamental plaque which is attached to the centre of the figure of eight. This plaque appears to be of base silver, although it has not been analysed, and its upper surface is almost entirely gilded. The design is that of a concave daisy flower with fourteen petals radiating from a boss within a circle. Behind the flower is a pair of horns which are decorated with a simple 'Celtic' pattern. So far no parallel for this type of buckle has been found.

The rubbish-pit (no. 4, measuring 10 ft. in width and 3 ft. 9 in. in depth) from which the

[1] 6 in. O.S. Glos. XXIX SW.; long. 1° 45′ 10″, lat. 51° 52′ 57″.

buckle was recovered at a depth of 15 in. had sherds in all its levels of filling. Mr. Philip Corder, who has kindly examined these for me, states that the sherds from the different levels present a homogeneous group and may be dated within the period of A.D. 80–160. The sherds consisted of some polished black or grey ware, but the greater number are of an orange-red ware. Thirteen sherds of Samian from an adjoining rubbish-pit (no. 8) were of forms 31 and 33, all probably belonging to the first half of the second century A.D. Rivet-holes in some of these sherds suggest survival to a later date. A great many of the sherds from the other pits were also of the orange-red ware. This dating, however, cannot necessarily be applied to the buckle or the other finds from

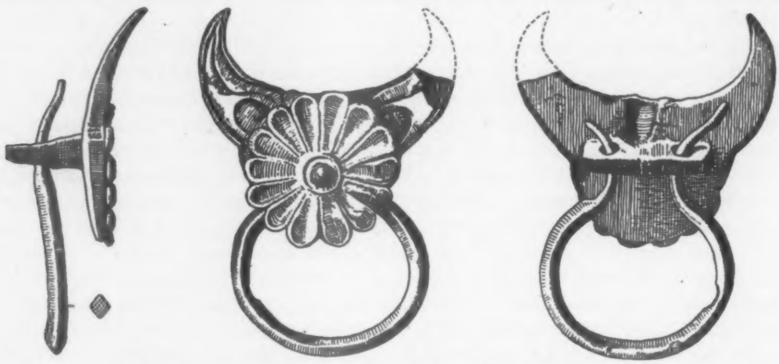


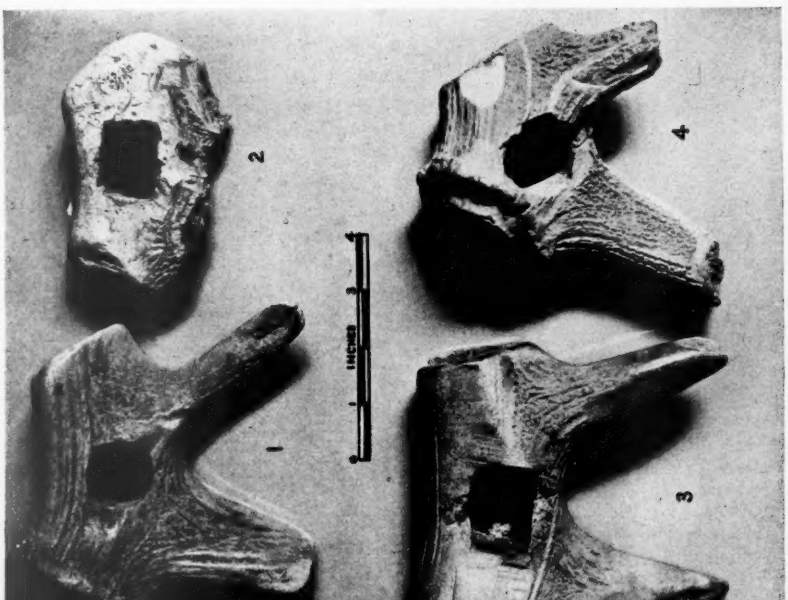
FIG. 1. Gilt buckle from Bourton on the Water (½)

rubbish-pit 4, because a coin of Constantine I (*Constantinopolis*, TRP, A.D. 330–7) was found lying at the bottom of the drainage trench at this point after the latter had been left open for some time and weathering had caused a fall of the sides. I am much indebted to Mr. L. Monroe, F.S.A., for drawing the buckle.

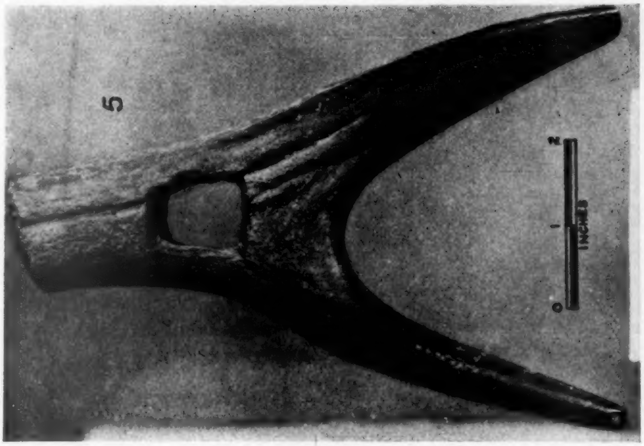
Romano-British hoes or rakes.—Mr. Thomas W. Bagshawe, F.S.A., Local Secretary for Bedfordshire, sends the following note:—While looking through the collection formed by the late Mr. F. G. Gurney of Eggington, Bedfordshire, his brother Mr. E. T. Gurney and the writer came across an object made of red deer antler—either a hoe or a rake (pl. XI, *b*). Fortunately Mr. E. T. Gurney could remember the circumstances of its discovery so that its provenance can be fixed with certainty.

The hoe, no. 5, has a roughly rectangular or more properly trapezoidal hafting hole tapering from $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. × $\frac{3}{4}$ in. to 1 in. in front to 1 in. × $\frac{5}{8}$ in. to $\frac{7}{8}$ in. at back. The longer sides lie parallel to a line bisecting the angle between the two tines (see also no. 4 below). The tines are $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. long. There are marks caused by a metal cutting instrument on the larger tine and the 'coronet' or 'burr' has been cut off. It is certain that the object came from the vicinity of the site described in 'An Early Iron Age Inhumation-Burial at Eggington, Bedfordshire', by Frederick G. Gurney and C. F. C. Hawkes, F.S.A. (*Antiq. Journ.* xx, 230–44), and almost certain that it was found about 1932 in a Romano-British rubbish-pit or trench in the sand pit, Manor Farm, Eggington, mentioned in the article. The writer was able to acquire the hoe and has presented it to the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

When this hoe was shown to Dr. G. H. S. Bushnell, F.S.A., Curator of the Museum, he recognized it as being similar to four objects made from red deer antler already in the collections (pl. XI, *a*). Three (nos. 1, 2, and 4) came from the recently acquired Braybrooke Collection



a. Romano-British hoes or rakes. 1. Bartlow, Cambridgeshire. 2. Hadstock, Essex. 3. Harston, Cambridgeshire. 4. Braybrooke Collection, locality unknown (⅓)



b. Romano-British hoe or rake. 5. Eggington, Bedfordshire (⅓)

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formed by the Hon. Richard Cornwallis Neville (afterwards 4th Baron Braybrooke) at Audley End about 1850. The fourth (no. 3) was from a more recent find.

No. 1 has a circular hafting hole $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. diameter and tines 3 in. long. The 'beam' has been cut and the two tines pointed by a metal instrument. The coronet is in its natural state. Two worn places occur on either side of the hole (on the front or handle side) and were probably caused by inserting wedges. It was found at Bartlow, Cambridgeshire, the original label having 'Bartlow 5·2' written on it.

No. 2 has a rectangular hafting hole tapering from $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. $\times$ 1 in. in front to $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. $\times \frac{7}{8}$ in. at the back. The tines have been broken off. There is a $\frac{1}{4}$-in. peg-hole at the smaller end of the hafting hole. The beam has been cut by a metal instrument and the coronet rounded off. It is labelled 'Hadstock. 1852.'

No. 3 has a rectangular hafting hole tapering from $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. $\times 1\frac{1}{8}$ in. in front to $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. $\times \frac{7}{8}$ in. at back. The tines are 3 in. long. The beam has been cut and the two tines pointed. The coronet shows considerable artificial rounding and there are two worn places at the top and bottom of the hafting hole. It is recorded in the Museum Register as No. 47.549 and was found while digging a grave at Harston, Cambridgeshire.

No. 4 has a rectangular hafting hole tapering from $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. $\times 1\frac{1}{4}$ in. in front to $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. $\times 1\frac{1}{4}$ in. at back. The hole is of the same type as no. 5. The beam has been cut and there is one pointed tine measuring 3 in. long. The second tine is missing. The locality is unknown.

Although the catalogues of the Braybrooke Collection do not assign any age to these tools, the overwhelming majority of the objects from Bartlow and Hadstock in the collection are Romano-British, and finds of the same age are known from Harston. The evidence from Eggington is in agreement, so it is reasonable to regard them all as Romano-British.

Dr. A. T. Hopwood of the British Museum (Natural History) has examined the hoes and confirmed their all having been made from red deer antlers. Mr. St. George Gray, F.S.A., has carefully examined the antler objects from the Glastonbury and Meare Lake Villages preserved in the Somerset County Museum, Taunton Castle, but can find nothing similar. Dr. Cecil Curwen, F.S.A., who has seen the photographs, is unable to adduce further examples or to throw any fresh light on the problem, but puts forward the very reasonable suggestion that 'seeing that the implements each have twin points, may they not perhaps be regarded as a form of rake?' To all these three experts the writer is grateful for their help and advice.

In the *Sunday Express* for 28th March 1948 there appeared a letter and sketch relating to a hoe or rake made of red deer antler found when 'Bomb disposal men working in the Horse Shoe brook at Dean's, near here [Piddinghoe, Sussex], discovered prehistoric tools 20 ft. below ground'. The writer has not been able to trace the hoe illustrated, but perhaps this note may bring it to light.

In conclusion it should be pointed out that the use of red deer horn is well known in the production of picks and hammers, but it was also put to other uses not so apparent. Two instances may be quoted. A 'bark peeler' was found at Wormingfold, Essex, in 1898 (*Essex Naturalist*, x, 310–12 and 351–3) and presumed to be of Romano-British date. Secondly a hollow object, possibly connected with weaving, made from the basal portion of an antler of red deer and pierced in one side in a longitudinal direction with eight holes, was found with Romano-British material at Maiden Bower, near Dunstable, Bedfordshire, in 1913 (*P.S.A.* xxvii, 143 and fig. 8). This is preserved in Luton Museum.

The 'Queen Margaret' Statue at Lincoln.—Messrs. Arthur Gardner, F.S.A., and R. P. Howgrave-Graham, F.S.A., contribute the following:—Until recently this fine statue has not received the attention it deserves. It stands on a buttress on the east side of the great south portal of the Angel Choir, and has been cut into by the parapet of the early sixteenth-century Russell

Chantry (pl. XIII, *a*). Close inspection from the ground has been impossible, and it was generally assumed, even by Lethaby (*Archaeologia*, lx), that the head had been renewed when those of the neighbouring statues of Edward I and Queen Eleanor were replaced. The good preservation of the face and presence of a crack in the neck lent some confirmation to this view, although the high quality of the work was widely recognized (pl. XII). However, in 1924–5 the late J. L. Hodgson published an article in *The Builder*, and a pamphlet, in which after close inspection he put forward sound reasons for claiming the figure to be a genuine masterpiece of thirteenth-century sculpture. As his paper has perhaps hardly received the attention it deserves except in Lincoln itself, it seemed desirable to make a further inspection, and on 7th September 1948 we made a special visit to Lincoln for this purpose.

Mr. R. S. Godfrey, C.B.E., F.S.A., the Surveyor to the Cathedral, provided a ladder and accompanied us. We found him already convinced that the whole statue is genuine sculpture of the end of the thirteenth century. He has examined it critically and frequently over a long period.

His wide experience of architectural problems and of medieval sculpture has won him a European reputation and this, with his special knowledge of the craftsmanship and materials of Lincoln Cathedral, make his opinion alone decisive in such a matter. We feel, nevertheless, that the agreed opinion of three persons well acquainted with medieval sculpture should dispel widespread doubts and that those who lack knowledge of Mr. Godfrey's keen judgement and integrity might be too ready to discount his single opinion because of the tendency in many custodians of treasures to make uncritical claims to their perfection. Lastly it is desirable to put the conclusions on record, especially as the fissure round the neck may be progressive and its future extension to the back might raise doubts anew.

1. The line running round the border of the face as distinct from the head, as it appears in an old photograph by Mr. Smith, is probably due to the peeling and crumbling of crust deposited from the air and was certainly no kind of joint in the stone. Mr. Godfrey's careful washing process has completely removed it.

2. The fissure round the neck (pl. XII) which has been the chief cause of belief that the whole head has been renewed does not at present extend right to the back into the drapery or right round the neck, though time might complete the separation; there is in it some modern cement filling much of which has fallen out, but it is not a joint as such would obviously show continuity to the back. This appears to be Roman cement, not Portland, and was used in early Victorian times for repairs. This would suggest an attempt at preservation, possibly as the result of Cockerell's criticism mentioned at the end of this note. Also the crack is irregular, and a restorer could not match a new neck with that of a rough stump but would flatten and smooth both surfaces.

3. A similar but smaller fissure appears lower down in the neck. It is narrower and, having been crusted over, does not appear in Mr. Smith's photograph. It and a similar one in a neighbouring shaft of the same stone show that this material is liable to this occurrence of its own nature.

4. The hair, head-dress, and general lines of the suspected part look wholly medieval in treatment and in degree of atmospheric attrition. The face seems to have suffered a trifle less than the rest of the hair and head-dress, but it stands or falls with the whole head.

5. The treatment of the eyes and eyelids is somewhat unusual, the eyeballs being less convex than is normal at the period, and the eyelids curiously deep and heavy, but the whole head is clearly an instance of the finest realistic idealization and these peculiarities make the face specially effective from below and were probably used for that reason. The curls are entirely typical of the period, and their charming conventionalization with the whole treatment and feeling are of a quality and power altogether beyond the reach of such carvers as were employed in the only modern period when renewal was at all likely.

Head of the 'Queen Margaret' statue in Lincoln Cathedral

a. The Statue from the ground

b. Well-preserved head on neighbouring buttress

c. Head on canopy above, showing similar type of head-dress

6. The head-dress has remarkable similarity to that of a small head just above it, but is no slavish copy (pl. XIII, *c*). The beautiful little trefoils round the band over the forehead are a refinement which a modern sculptor would be most unlikely to invent; they almost make the band into an unobtrusive crown.

7. Another head on the next buttress, and facing the same way, has its features equally well preserved, and bears witness to the fine lasting quality of the Lincoln stone (pl. XIII, *b*).

8. C. Wild published a small drawing of this statue in 1819, in which it appears to have been very much in its present condition, so far as can be judged from such a small representation, which cannot give such reliable evidence as a modern photograph. At this time the king statue on the next buttress known as Edward I still retained its old head, but the Queen Eleanor beside him was headless. S. C. Cockerell, writing in 1851, before any modern Gothic Revival restorations, admired this statue, of which he says: 'In the adjoining pier is a female statue of equal merit of execution, but affecting great delicacy and refinement in the character. . . . The neglect of these fine works, most of which are mutilated, the head of the king having been knocked off within a few years, is disgraceful.'

9. That so fine a work could have been produced in the eighteenth century is impossible. We have only to compare the clumsy busts inserted into the wall-arcade of the south aisle of the choir to see the difference.

10. The identification as Queen Margaret, second wife of Edward I, rests on no solid grounds, and the tradition may derive from a suggestion by Cockerell. The style of the work is the same as that of the genuine part of the Edward I and the headless statues of the Judgement Porch. This points to a date of *c.* 1280, when the translation of the relics of St. Hugh to the new presbytery took place. The statues of the Eleanor Crosses dating from *c.* 1292 already show a change from the grand manner of the Lincoln figures towards the swaying attitudes and elegant arrangement of the draperies with overlapping folds which herald the developed fourteenth-century types. A comparison of the Judgement Porch with the Chapter House doorway at Westminster suggests that this work at Lincoln, under the direct patronage of the king, was probably assigned to the royal masons as soon as their great work at Westminster was completed. If we accept this date we must drop the identification with Margaret as she was only born *c.* 1282, and it is impossible to say what person our statue was intended to represent.

A London Alabasterer in 1421.—Mr. G. M. Bark, F.S.A., reports the finding of a contract for the erection of an alabaster tomb in Bisham Priory in 9 Henry V (P.R.O., Ancient Deeds, E 326, No. 7164). The text is as follows:

> Cest endenture fait parentre Richard Hertcombe dun part et Robert Broun Kerver demorrant en Savoy dehors la temple barr deins le counte de Midd' dautre part tesmoigne que come le dit Robert ad covenante & empris pur faire & entailler ben honestement & profitablement al oeps & profit del avantdit Richard une tumbe de pere dalabastre & dautre pere come le dit Richard ferra deliverer & monstrer par luy mesmes ou par autre en son noun a dit Robert en certiens lieux Et serra la dite tumbe entaille de longure unze pees & oept pollices & de lacure cynk pees dassise en quele tumbe le dit Robert ferra dusze measons ou plusours si mestier soit ove les ymages appelez morners en ycell' measons cestassavoir en chescun meason une ymage appelle morner ben honestement profitablement & parfitement accordant en manere & forme a un patron ent fait & monstrez par le dit Richard a dit Robert Et serra la dite tumbe enhaut de la terre quatre pees & sept pollices en manere come le dit Richard luy baillera une mesure Et le dit Robert ferra la fosse en la terre la foute & les costes de pere sette ove les arches de pere pur suys mettre la dite tumbe Et serra la dite fosse de longure noef pees & de lacure quatre pees demi et en profund v pees pur dedeins mettre & enceveller deux corps

quant mestier serra saunz bruyser ou empeirement de mesme la tumbe Et serra la dite tumbe prestment fait et levez en lesglise del priorie de Brustlesham monntagu en le counte de Berk par le dit Robert en toutz pointz parentre cy et le fest de Seint Bartilmewe ore proschein venant apres la date dicestes Et la grant pere de marbere serra surmyz & enhancez couchez & adressez par le dit Robert ou ses assignes ben honestement & profitablement Et le dit Robert surmettra sur les ditz pere de marbere & tumbe deux ymages dalabastre ove deux hovelles de mesme le pere & jambes & autres appurtenances a icelles et les ditz ymages hovelles jambes ove toutz les appurtenances amendera et pollicera ben honestement parfitement & covenablement oeverant par sesse iours en toutz pointz come appent pur celle oeveraigne par la vewe & ordinance du dit Richard ou ascun autre homme en son noun quant mestier serra Pur quele tumbe ensi entierment fait & parfournez en toutz pointz honestement le dit Richard paiera ou ferra paier a dit Robert xxij li xiijs iiijd dount le dit Robert serra paiez al commencement de dit oeveraigne de quatre marcz en maigne Et de tout la remanant en manere come il face son oeveraigne ensi que le dit Robert soit pleinement paiez pur son oeveraigne quant il ad accomplie & fait tout la tumbe ben & honestement en les manere & forme come devant est declare As queles covenantz ben & loialment parfourner le dit Robert soy oblige a dit Richard en quarant livres desterlings par icestes En tesmoignance de quele chose a lun partie dicestes endentures envers le dit Robert remaignant le dit Richard ad myz son seal Et a lautre part dicestes endentures envers le dit Richard remaignant le dit Robert ad myz son seal Doun le darrein iour de Decembre lan du regne le Roy Henry quynt puys le conquest noefisme

The following translation has been revised by the P.R.O.:

This indenture made between Richard Hertcombe of the one part and Robert Brown Carver dwelling in Savoy without temple bar in the county of Middlesex of the other part witnesseth that the said Robert has covenanted and undertaken to make and carve well truly and serviceably to the behoof and use of the aforesaid Richard a tomb of alabaster and of other stone as the said Richard shall arrange to deliver up and show in person or by deputy to the said Robert in certain places. And the said tomb shall be carved in length eleven feet eight inches and in breadth five feet of assise in which tomb the said Robert shall make twelve niches or more as required with the figures called 'mourners' in those niches that is to say in each niche one mourner well truly serviceably and perfectly according in manner and form to a pattern thereof made and shown by the said Richard to the said Robert. And the said tomb shall be in height from the ground four feet seven inches in manner as the said Richard shall provide him a measure. And the said Robert shall make the trench in the ground the footing and the sides of set stone with arches of stone to support the said tomb. And the said trench shall be in length nine feet and in breadth four feet and a half and in depth five feet for placing and interring therein two bodies when occasion shall arise without bruising or injury from the said tomb. And the said tomb shall be readily made and raised in the priory church of Brustlesham Montagu in the County of Berks. by the said Robert in all respects between now and the feast of Saint Bartholomew next coming after the date hereof. And the great stone of marble shall be set up raised laid and dressed by the said Robert or his assigns well truly and serviceably. And the said Robert will place on the said stone of marble and tomb two figures of alabaster with two canopies of the same stone and shafts and other appurtenances to the same and the said figures canopies shafts with all the appurtenances he will perfect and polish well truly perfectly and properly working weekly in all respects as is fitting for this work by the view and ordering of the said Richard or any other man in his name when occasion shall arise. For which tomb thus completely made and executed in all respects truly the said Richard shall pay or cause to be paid to the said Robert xxii*li*. xiii*s*. iiii*d*. of which the said Robert shall

be paid at the beginning of the said work four marks in hand. And the whole of the balance in manner as he does his work so that the said Robert be fully paid for his work when he has completed and made the whole tomb well and truly in the manner and form as before is declared. To which covenants well and loyally to perform the said Robert shall be bound to the said Richard in forty pounds sterling by these presents. In witness whereof to one part of these indentures with the said Robert remaining the said Richard has set his seal. And to the other part of these indentures with the said Richard remaining the said Robert has set his seal. Given the last day of December in the ninth year of the reign of King Henry the Fifth after the conquest.

Mr. Greening Lamborn has noted that certain of the Bisham Priory tombs were removed to Burghfield (*N. and Q.*, 6 May 1944), but there is no evidence that the Hertcombe monument was one of these.

There is a somewhat similar contract (quoted by Mr. Crossley) for the erection of the Greene tomb at Lowick, Northants., in 1419 by Prentys and Sutton of Chellaston, Derbyshire; but the appearance of a carver dwelling in London at this period seems to be new. Both documents are written in French.

The brooch from West Stow, Suffolk.—Mr. E. T. Leeds, F.S.A., contributes the following:—At a recent sale in London our Fellow, Mr. D. B. Harden, attracted by its resemblance to the Glaston brooch and its congeners published in the last number of the *Antiq. Journ.* (vol. xxviii, pp. 169–73), acquired for the Ashmolean Museum a bronze brooch and with it a bronze buckle, the two pieces affixed to a card inscribed 'Fibula and buckle from a Roman grave, Icklingham, Suffolk'. On seeing the group in the Museum I recognized the brooch as being unmistakably the specimen from West Stow Heath published by C. Roach Smith in *Collectanea*, ii (fig. 2 in my note).[1] The buckle is of Frankish type with shield on tongue and is certainly not Roman. The two objects, if really associated, may well have come from an Anglo-Saxon grave, thus providing fresh confirmation of the relative dating of this anachronizing brooch-type. The two proveniences, West Stow Heath and Icklingham, are to all intents synonymous.

Shields from the tomb of Archbishop Chicheley.—Mr. R. H. D'Elboux, F.S.A., sends the following:—It has been observed both by our Fellow, Commander Messenger, and by Mr. E. A. Greening Lamborn that the unsolved Sarum shield (*Antiq. Journ.* xxvii, 174–5) is that of John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, eldest son of John, first duke of Suffolk, killed in 1487 at the battle of Stoke. He married Margaret, daughter of Thomas Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, and great-aunt of Jane wife to Lord Lumley, who is represented on one of the other shields, and responsible for all three.

Mr. Greening Lamborn has drawn my attention to Doyle's drawing of Lincoln's seal (*Official Baronage*, ii) whereon de la Pole quarters Burghersh, for Chaucer, as in his parents' shield in a window at Iffley, Oxon. Lord Lumley evidently revived the Wingfield quartering, though the missing quarters of the Sarum shield may well have been Burghersh and Roet.

The G. T. Clark Prizes.—In the 1939 volume of *Archaeologia Cambrensis*[2] there was published a document important for the future of our studies: a Declaration relating to the 'G. T. Clark Memorial Trust'—commemorating the author of *Medieval Military Architecture in England*, 1884, and of many other works of like character. By this Declaration the sum of £1,000 was transferred, and the income thereof made available by Mr. Wyndham Damer Clark, his grandson, for awards of prizes by the Cambrian Archaeological Association for research work

[1] *Antiq. Journ.* xxviii, p. 171.

[2] Pp. 242–3.

upon 'The Archaeology of Wales and the Marches'. Rules were made, and promulgated in the same issue, dividing the subject-matter into four periods:

(*a*) The Prehistoric Period.
(*b*) The Roman Period and the Dark Ages (to *c.* 1100).
(*c*) The Medieval Period (to *c.* 1550).
(*d*) The Post-Medieval Period.

It was decided to award the first prize—for the medieval period, since that was G. T. Clark's chief interest—in 1940. The war necessitated postponement, and when in 1945 the matter was again discussed by the General Committee of the Association[1] the accumulation of interest on the capital sum made it possible to award four prizes, one for each period, in 1946, the centenary year of the Association. Four assessors eminent in their respective spheres (Professor V. Gordon Childe, Dr. Ian Richmond, Dr. W. Douglas Simpson, and Sir Alfred Clapham) were invited to make recommendations in writing; their reports were considered and adopted at a meeting of the General Committee and awards were made as follows:

Period (*a*) Mr. W. F. Grimes for his *Guide to the Collection Illustrating the History of Wales* (National Museum of Wales, 1939).

Period (*b*) Sir Cyril Fox for his paper on 'The Boundary Line of Cymru' (*Proc. Brit. Acad.*, 1940, pp. 275–300).

Period (*c*) Mr. F. H. Crossley for his articles on 'Welsh Screens and Lofts' (*Arch. Camb.*, 1943, pp. 135–6; 1944–5, pp. 64–112 and 153–98).

Period (*d*) Dr. Iorwerth C. Peate for 'The Welsh House' (*Y Cymmrodor*, xlvii, 1940).

It was arranged that the prizes should be formally presented by the President, Lord Harlech, at the centenary dinner in the National Library.[2]

The procedure adopted (by accident, as it were) for the first award of the four prizes was considered to be preferable to the original scheme of an annual or biennial prize for a single period only, because it afforded an opportunity of taking stock of the position of our studies, in the whole range of time covered thereby, at reasonable intervals of time. On the motion of Mr. Harry Randall, Treasurer, it was, then, resolved by the General Committee in 1947[3] that the four prizes should be awarded every decade for any work or works falling within the scheme and published during that decade. The same procedure is to be adopted as on the occasion of the first award. The next date for the awards will be 1956, and the sum available for each of the prize-winners should be about £50. The revised Rules were printed in the 1947 volume of *Archaeologia Cambrensis*; copies can be obtained from the Secretary of the Association by any interested persons.

The essential points in the above record are, as the references show, already published in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*. They are, however, scattered; and it is important that it should be widely known, particularly to the younger men and women engaged in research on Wales and the Marches, that these prizes are to be given at regular intervals[4] and that they are never awarded twice over to the same person or persons. It should be noted also by aspirants that, unlike most prizes of the sort, no application is permitted, no submission of work required. The assessors, being chosen as expert in surveying the published work in their particular field of study, are each free to recommend to the General Committee the award of a prize for any work—book or article—published in Wales or outside its boundaries.

Correction. Antiq. Journ. vol. xxviii, nos. 3, 4, p. 184. Fig. 2, the scale of the spear-head from Pentire Glaze is $\frac{1}{1}$ and not $\frac{1}{2}$.

[1] *Arch. Camb.*, 1946, p. 163.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1946, p. 141.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1947, p. 358.
[4] The Association reserves its right to withhold the prize in respect of any period if none of the works under consideration attains a sufficiently high standard.

REVIEWS

A History of Cyprus. Vol. II. *The Frankish Period, 1192–1432.* Vol. III. *The Frankish Period, 1432–1571.* By Sir George Hill. 9×6. Pp. xlvi+1198, with 20 plates, 11 figures in the text, and 2 maps. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1948. £5. 5*s.*

A work of history, on the grand scale, covering a long continuity of periods, written with leisureliness of detail and a style worthy of the subject, is nowadays a rare pleasure. If British care for the rich antiquities of Cyprus has at times been open to criticism and largely dependent on the private enterprise of the Mersey Committee, at least it is from this country that has come a study of the island's history that will never be superseded, whatever points of detail later research may modify. Hitherto, as commonly throughout the eastern Mediterranean, Cypriote medieval history and archaeology has been the province of French scholars. Mas Latrie in 1861 published his first volume of a history of the island under the Lusignans to 1291: he planned two further volumes, the second to 1372, the third to 1489. Two volumes of documents covering the period to 1670 and providing the *pièces justificatives* for his work were brought out by him, but the actual histories were never written. Now in his second and third volume Sir George Hill has dealt with the period from 1192 to 1571. It is a wild and fearful story. Until the Genoese capture of Famagusta in 1373 Cyprus enjoyed considerable prosperity. With the loss of Acre it became the chief mart for Western trade with the Levant and the refuge for all with Palestinian interests, whether feudal, religious, or mercantile. It occupied in the eastern Mediterranean a key position, to which it has never since attained, and its crowded cities were the scenes of immense activity, attracting the skill and initiative of West and East alike. Against a background of buildings where the Gothic style was employed with a genuine understanding of its nature, the cultures of East and West met in a lavish if not always successful synthesis. But from the beginning there were dark flaws in the structure. Religious fervour was mainly evident in the fierce intolerance of the Latin clergy for the Greek Church. Palestine had seen experiments in a more tolerant attitude: here these earlier attempts were neglected, perhaps because within the island the pressure of Islam was less directly felt. And in Church and State alike great personalities were lacking. The Franks were deficient neither in energy, ingenuity, nor courage. They were not a race rendered effeminate by Eastern contacts and climate. But they were self-seeking and self-indulgent, restless and intriguing, horribly cruel and vindictive. Their women, who played a large part in affairs, showed the same qualities, and Eleanor of Aragon, the wife and avenging widow of Peter I, is one of the grimmest portraits in the whole gallery. Here and there, particularly among the family of Ibelin, the old knightly virtues were still to be found, and Philip of Novara had the best qualities of his time and status; but for the main part it is a dismal narrative of tyranny, treachery, plots, murder, avarice, and adultery. It is a narrative, too, which in any but skilled hands would become confused and tedious. Sir George Hill moves with such certain familiarity amongst its detail, and visualizes so clearly the participants in it, that he never allows the reader to lose either interest or grasp. This is not achieved by elaborate writing or sensational emphasis: needless to say, there is no embroidery of incidents beyond what the sources warrant. It comes from a sense of the actuality of the events, their significance at the time, and the basic intelligibility of all human affairs. This is not romance, however tempting the exotic nature of the theme, but a singularly lucid exposition of what is known about medieval Cyprus. The author gives it as a straightforward account: where there are gaps in the documents he does not spend time in speculation, but when at intervals he pauses to collect the threads, to set political manœuvres against economic conditions or religious disputes, he does so with the convincing judgement of a man completely conversant with his subject.

Curiously enough, with an author who has previously made so many contributions to art history, the chapter which closes the work and is called 'Literature and the Fine Arts' is perhaps the least satisfactory. In architecture the great work of Camille Enlart, though now some fifty years old, still holds the field and requires surprisingly little addition or modification. Sir George bases on it some eighteen pages, which are admirably concise and pointed, but, describing himself as 'a mere amateur', holds back from a more detailed analysis of the strange decay of Cypriote architecture, which fell so steadily from its early Gothic triumphs into a feeble and confused provincialism. The ornamental carving of the island, with its heavy, elaborate foliage, provides a guide to this process, but is hardly touched on here. The little-known Larnaca tympanum from the Pitt-Rivers Museum is described in detail and illustrated by a photograph, the first time that it has been reasonably reproduced. But the manuscript of the *Histoire Générale* (No. 10175 of the Bibl. Royale de Belgique) with its entries that it was written by Bernart of Acre and belonged to a Lusignan (probably Phoebus, Janus' bastard son) is dismissed in a footnote with no details given. Its illustrations and script are in fact closely linked with another manuscript of the same work, the splendid Add. 15268 of the British Museum, where the frontispiece has a border of Eastern scenes, which must have originated in the Levant. There seems every probability that these and certain allied manuscripts should be associated with Cyprus.

The two volumes are excellently produced by the Cambridge Press and the half-tone plates are of particularly good quality. It is indeed a blow to learning that with the much regretted death of the author, which has occurred since this review was first written, the *History* will be left unfinished and there will be no fourth volume to deal with the unexplored period of Turkish rule.

T. S. R. Boase

The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors, being the first Report on the Excavations carried out in Istanbul on behalf of the Walker Trust (The University of St. Andrews) 1935–1938. 12½ × 10. Pp. xv+108+64 pls. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1947. £5. 5*s*.

The handsome volume now under review is a first report of the excavations which took place in four seasons from 1935 to 1938 and were undertaken by the Walker Trust and St. Andrews University, a concession having been granted by the Turkish Government in 1932. The Director of Excavations was Professor J. H. Baxter of St. Andrews University, with a staff of assistants including the authors of the various chapters of the book: Dr. Günter Martiny, Mr. R. B. K. Stevenson, and Mr. Gerard Brett. It was hoped to issue a full report at the conclusion of the final excavation, edited by Mr. David Russell, LL.D., of the Walker Trust, but owing to the war this had to be abandoned, and only now has it been possible to produce what the authors point out is merely a first report; further work on the site is contemplated, which may call for a reconsideration and revision of the views here expressed.

The Palace, which had a variety of names in the early Byzantine period, came to be known as *τὸ μέγα παλάτιον*, and is now generally identified with the palace built by Constantine; hence the designation 'Great Palace' used by the authors of the present volume.

The four chapters deal respectively with the buildings, the pottery, the mosaic, and the small finds, of which by far the most important is the third of these, the splendid pavement assigned from the evidence of sherds to the early years of the fifth century A.D., probably to the time of Theodosius II (408–50), and from internal evidence to the earlier years of his reign. The chapter on the mosaic is an elaboration by the author, Mr. Brett, of a paper which he contributed to the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (v, 1942, p. 34), and a detailed description is given of the subjects, preceded by an account of the *tessellae*, giving the colours used, the materials, the sizes, and evidence of manufacture.

The dating from internal evidence rests on the costume, in which analogies are found with the dress of the *venator* on an ivory diptych with hunting-scenes described by Delbrück as Eastern Empire after 400, while similarities of coiffure are also observed, and weapons of types belonging to the late fourth and early fifth centuries are present. The subjects are mythological scenes, incidents of rustic life including occupations of the seasons, hunting and animals in combat, children at play, with natural and architectural features. They are an illustration of the evolution of the genre motives from the first century A.D., as exemplified by the mosaics of Zliten in north Africa to Antioch (third to sixth century), Apameia (early sixth century), and the Orpheus mosaic at Jerusalem (sixth century). We have clearly an example of late antique work, the miscellaneous and disconnected nature of the subjects being in contrast to Byzantine work proper, in which each figure is part of a composition and is related to other figures and to the scene of which it forms a part. The Palace mosaic is arranged in parallel registers with figures for the most part isolated and independent; with one or two exceptions the scenes are represented horizontally without overlapping of figures: the natural and architectural features are merely devices for filling a vacuum. The principal merits of the mosaic are the regularity of the arrangement and the background of shell pattern, and the fine quality of the individual figures.

The author distinguishes nine workshops on the main panel, other craftsmen being responsible for the border ornament, and suggests that the whole work was under the direction of a single master, the extent of whose control is uncertain, some details having apparently been left to the masters of the individual workshops.

The first chapter, describing the excavation of the building, is the work of Dr. Günter Martiny. It is pointed out that relatively little field-work has been done in the city of Constantinople, and that, while there had been a certain amount of theoretical reconstruction of the Great Palace, based on surviving literary sources, especially on the *De Ceremoniis* of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, this was the first application of the spade to the site.

The sole preceding archaeological study, Mambourg and Wiegand, *Die Kaiserpaläste von Konstantinopel zwischen dem Hippodrom und dem Marmara-Meer* (Berlin, 1934), dealt with such of the remains as could be studied without excavation, and A. Vogt, *Constantin Porphyrogénète, Le Livre des Cérémonies* (Paris, 1934, etc.) makes a topographical study of the site. A detailed description is given of the buildings, comprising the Peristyle and its surroundings, and two buildings, one a church, perhaps that of St. Mary the Intercessor (Theotokos Proseuche) and another, not contemporary, which may have been connected with the Imperial Mint. Various architectural fragments were found, which may have belonged to the Peristyle, but were not *in situ*; the one complete capital was analogous to a capital found by Schneider at St. Sophia and dated by him 404–15.

For the rest there are the chapters dealing with the pottery and the small finds. As far as the former is concerned, a distinct advance has been made in the study of Byzantine glazed pottery. A few fine pieces were found, but the treatment is archaeological rather than artistic, and, owing to the fragmentary state of many of the pieces, the forms of rims and bases have had to be relied on rather than whole vessels. Evidence of associated coins has been used for the dating. Talbot Rice's division into periods has been followed, and here stratigraphy has been of supreme importance in relating types and periods. In the way of small finds there seems to be nothing of the first importance; a number of fragments of wall-paintings were found, mostly in the building adjoining the church on its north-west side.

It remains to be recorded that the book is produced in a way that reflects credit on all concerned as regards the printing, paper, and the number and quality of the illustrations.

A. B. TONNOCHY

Le Trésor Protobulgare de Nagyszentmiklós. By N. MAVRODINOV. Archaeologia Hungarica, xxix. 12×9½. Pp. 282, 50 plates, 134 figures. Budapest, 1943.
Also *Die Inschriften von Nagy Szent Miklós.* By J. NÉMETH. 10½×8. Pp. 84. Budapest, 1932.
Hunnische Runen. By F. ALTHEIM. *Hallische Monographien*, i. 10×7. Pp. 30, 4 plates. Both Halle, 1948. Fuller in his *Lit. u. Gesellschaft im ausgehenden Altertum*, i. 195–230.

At Nagy Szent Miklós (Gt. St. Nicholas), ESE. of Szegedin, but now in Rumania, was found in 1798 a treasure of twenty-three golden vessels, now at Vienna. Both its art and its inscriptions have been debated ever since: it was published in line by J. Arneth in 1850, by J. Hampel in 1886, best in photogravure by E. Zimmermann in vol. ii of A. Riegl's *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie*, pls. XXXI–XLVI, Vienna, 1923. Mavrodinov gives 36 half-tone plates to the treasure itself, showing things from more than one point of view.

There are seven jugs (1–7), a 'fruit-dish' (8), four saucers or shallow bowls fitted each with a buckle on one side, pointing to use by horsemen (9, 10, 20, 21), two stumpy beakers (11, 12), three vessels like a Chinese *i* or 'sauceboat' with an animal's head as handle looking into its back (13, 14, 18), two saucers with flat frying-pan handles (15, 16), a vessel like a Russian *bratina*, a very oblate spheroid with a hollow moulding round its mouth (19), two 'chalices' like a sundae-glass with a knop (22, 23), and a rhyton (17).

Saucers 9 and 10 have round a cross Greek inscriptions most unskilfully set out; I read: † ΔΕΑ ΥΔΑΤΟϹ ΑΝΑΠΛΥϹΟΝ Κ͞Є ЄΙϹ ΒΗΟΝ (or ΖΩΗΝ) ΑΙΔΙΟΝ (or ΑΙΩΝΙΟΝ) (see *Senatne un Maksla̅*, Riga, 1938, i, 120–5). Anyway they are Christian, perhaps executed in haste for two baptisms. Saucer 21 has a Turkish inscription in Greek letters translated by V. Thomsen 'Buila Zoapan made the drinking-cup, Butaul Zoapan made it to hang'. It seems to contain the Bulgar titles *boila* and *župan*.

Vessels 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 15, 16, 17, 22, 23 have between them eighteen inscriptions in an unknown alphabet, half of them skilfully engraved, half of them scratched; five are identical, on 9, 10, 17, 22, 23, so, too, those on 3 and 4 and those on 15 and 16. These are all likely to contain proper names. Mavrodinov does not devote much attention to the inscriptions. Németh, assuming that Buila and Chaban (his version of Zoapan) occurred in the other inscriptions, proposes readings plausible, but rather forced. He thinks the special form of Turkish points to the Pechenegs (10th century). He believes that the alphabet is ultimately connected with that of the Orkhon and Siberian inscriptions, but can point to hardly any resemblances.

Altheim assumes that the alphabet, like the Orkhon, stems from the old Sogdian, but is not yet so highly developed to express Turkish sounds. He goes by resemblances that he sees in characters in this alphabet, in the Sogdian and the Orkhon. The results, reasonably supposed to be Protobulgarian, are not to me plausible, but, as I do not know Turkish, I cannot well judge. He backs his view by comparing masons' marks on Bulgarian buildings, but unintelligible masons' marks do not help much. When it comes to reading the *Füllornamente* that flank the stem of a cross as Glagolitic letters forming a date, I do know what to think.

Till the inscriptions are successfully deciphered we must with Mavrodinov rely on the artistic style. He contends that, apart from the rhyton (no. 17) which seems to be Alan, and so much older than the rest, the objects show an original East Asiatic base, overlaid by Classical, Sasanian, Later Classical, and Byzantine features. Several tribes in journeying from east to west have passed successively under these influences, but the work of Fettich and Alföldi in the last twenty years has enabled us to distinguish one wave from another: Sarmatians we have long known, they are too early and not Turkish; Attila's Huns (4th century) had not had time to absorb these influences, but among their descendants some were in the 5th–7th centuries north of the Caucasus, not far from Iran, afterwards in south Russia, later in Hungary; such were the Bulgars, Kutrigurs, and Utigurs, and we also find them on the Volga: the Avars (6th–8th centuries), perhaps from Manchuria, had a style which we know well, with a much stronger East Asiatic

component; we know also the Magyars at the time of their seizing Hungary (9th century); the Pechenegs by the tenth century show traces of Islamic art, quite absent from the treasure. Only the Bulgars exactly correspond, and Mavrodinov points to motives which were preserved by the Volga Bulgars, many in the 9th–10th century sculptures of Aboba Pliska, Preslav, Nova Zagora, and Madara in Bulgaria: the most recent jugs (3 and 6) with lobed designs such as we find in Samara plaster-work point to later ninth century, after the conversion of the Bulgars in 864 (suiting nos. 9 and 10); they may be provincial work of the Kutrigurs who lived in east Hungary—they probably buried the treasure when the Magyars fell on them in 896.

P.S. M. V. Pokrovskiy, 'A new Sasanian vessel from Krasnodar' (*Kr. Soobshch.* (*Short Communications*) *of Inst. Hist. Mat. Culture*, xviii (1947), 54–7, figs. 15–18), publishes a gilt copper jug very like no. 7, in some ways the most elaborate of the treasure. This no. 7 is in the shape of a 'pilgrim bottle', but has a handle and a funnel-like mouth with spout. On the mouth are storks or herons amid vegetation, round the neck runs a torus enriched with rosettes, below it a circlet of acanthus palmettes pointing downwards. One flat side bears a great medallion with an eagle carrying a boy (cf. Ganymede) who wears a narrow loin-cloth; with his right hand he holds up a bowl for the eagle to drink, and a branch in his left: on the other flat side the same scene with the hands reversed. On each narrow side are two similar subjects, one a young man riding a young centaur, the other a bearded king riding a winged tiger with a crowned and bearded man's head. All these scenes have a background of rich vegetation.

Every one of these strange features recurs on Pokrovskiy's battered jug, and the style is the same parody of Sasanian. Jug no. 2 of the treasure, better in style and so presumably earlier, also has on one side a figure rapt by an eagle, but this is a naked female, Mavrodinov calls her Anahita. We have its Sasanian original on a dish found at Anikova, near Cherdyn' on the upper Kama, see K. V. Trever, *Nouveaux Plats Sasanides de l'Ermitage*, 1937. Miss Trever interprets the figures from the Iranian and Vedic mythologies and is followed by Pokrovskiy.

The new jug coming from Krasnodar (formerly Ekaterinodar) on the River Kuban', suggests that when Bulgars had no. 7 made, and it comes latish among its fellows, they were still just north of the Caucasus, and so sets most of the treasure back into the seventh century.

Ellis H. Minns

Handbook to the Roman Wall. By J. Collingwood Bruce. Tenth edition, ed. by Ian A. Richmond. $7\frac{1}{4}\times4\frac{3}{4}$. Pp. ix+236, numerous text-figures and end map. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Andrew Reid and Co., 1947. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Roman Britain (Britain in Pictures, no. 113). By Ian Richmond. $8\frac{3}{4}\times6\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. 48, 8 plates in colour and 22 illustrations in black and white. London: Collins, 1947. 5*s.*

These two publications which Dr. I. A. Richmond has found time to put together will be welcomed by all students of Roman Britain as well as by the general public. Collingwood Bruce's *Handbook*, essential for any traveller along Hadrian's Wall, whether archaeologist, historian, or tourist, was first published eighty-five years ago, and reissued in three editions during the author's lifetime and five more subsequently. The additions to knowledge obtained in later years by excavation made a revision essential by 1933, and it was skilfully carried out by the late Professor R. G. Collingwood, who included a valuable bibliography and introduced the system of numeration of turrets and milecastles now in general use. Dr. Richmond, confronted with the more difficult task of working in the results of numerous excavations planned and carried out on definite lines to solve particular problems by a team led by him and his colleagues, has managed to preserve much of the original *Handbook* and yet has concealed the joints of old and new. It would have been an easier task to start *de novo*, but thereby at least those familiar with the Wall would have missed the atmosphere and even the presence of the great figures who first began to examine in detail, and to interpret, the Monument. The result is not only a detailed description

of the Wall, displaying Dr. Richmond's power of presenting much in little and of interpretation, but the best concise guide yet published to any Roman frontier, setting forth clearly and succinctly the story of the changes in construction, tactics, and strategy which took place during the 300 years it was held or occupied. The most important new facts relate to the Vallum and the Turf Wall, their date, their history, and their purpose now at last becoming clear. The new plans, well and clearly drawn and many by the Editor's own hand, include the forts at Wallsend, Benwell, and Chesters, the Temple to Antenociticus, the third-century military workshop-compounds at Corbridge, the Carrawburgh baths, the Severan headquarters at Housesteads, the early fourth-century headquarters at Chesterholm, to mention only a few; they form a witness to to the research carried out during the last fifteen years. These excellent plans are some of them substituted for the full-page landscape drawings inserted in the 9th edition, all of which might now have been discarded.

The picture-book is attractive, quite one of the best of the series. The coloured reproductions of glass and enamels are particularly successful, and so is that of the statue of Hercules from Birdoswald and Tuke's lithograph of the Roman West Gate at Lincoln before its fall. On the other hand, the reproduction of Richardson's water-colour of Hadrian's Wall and Castle Nick might almost represent a Saharan landscape, and that of the helmet from Newstead is disappointing. It is much to be regretted that no scales or sizes are provided. The Carvoran measure to the uninitiated might well be 3 or 4 feet high, and a false idea of size is given of the bronze head of Claudius and the statuette of the ploughman. The maps are well drawn and the lettering very pretty and they should provide a model for archaeologists. The letterpress, as we should expect, is wholly admirable, particularly the account of Hadrian's Wall, and, though brief, it is still clear and freshly written. The reviewer may be pardoned in pointing out that the Ashmolean Museum is governed by Visitors, not Trustees.

M. V. Taylor

Medieval Lincoln. By J. W. F. Hill. $9\frac{1}{4}\times6\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. xvii+487. Cambridge University Press, 1948. 42*s.*

The city of Lincoln has long lacked an adequate history. Not only has this reproach now been removed by a distinguished Lincoln citizen who has been mayor of the city and much else, but the omission has been the more valuable in that it has enabled many of the results of twentieth-century research to be embodied in this book. The conclusions of the late Professor Tait, in particular, receive a good deal of confirmation by the investigations of the writer, while some of the more challenging theories of Professor Carl Stephenson prove to be unacceptable for this city.

Although the book is entitled *Medieval Lincoln* and stops abruptly short at the conventional end of the middle ages, it is necessarily introduced by a chapter on Roman Lincoln which explains a great deal of the later history of the city. The Roman walls, in particular, were used, with modifications, as the city walls of the middle ages, and a failure to realize their continued existence has led to errors by historians of repute. Maps, inserted in the text, illustrate the growth and development of the city: some of these are a little small and crowded, but to have enlarged them would doubtless have added prohibitively to the expense of the book.

The Danish evidence about the city is mainly derived from place-names and coins, matters full of pitfalls for the unwary, which Mr. Hill skilfully avoids. With Domesday Book the ground is more certain, and the combined guidance of the late Canon Foster and Sir Frank Stenton is followed faithfully and wisely in a chapter which it might have been possible to elaborate, and thus to avoid over-simplification which may mislead. The church of St. Mary, mother church of Lincolnshire, became the Minster and this receives fair treatment, but the borough dominates the book. The castle with its constables, the bail of which it was the centre, and the relationship between bail, close, and borough are described with decisive clarity. An attempt is made to

define the areas of the parishes and to identify the sites of the parish churches that have long disappeared, in some cases an impossible task. The settlement of the friars and the buildings occupied by them are also described, although here, as with the Lincoln guilds, room is left for further investigation.

It is in the description of civic organization, of the alderman, mayor, bailiff, the burwarmote, the common council and common seal, the effective rule by certain well-known families (to whom a valuable appendix is devoted) that the greatest historical value of the book may be found to consist, while in the topographical description of streets and buildings we have long-needed additions to our knowledge. Mr. Hill realizes that Lincoln was not an isolated city and he is careful to relate its development with that of London, Norwich, York, and Winchester and to make its close connexion with Boston clearer than has been done previously. The special position of the Jews in Lincoln, and notes upon the houses so well known to be attributed to their enterprise, provide additional matter for comment and satisfying explanation. Lastly, the common fields of the city are described and their management explained. It is possible that Mr. Hill exaggerates the indifference of the citizens to the land from whence so much of their daily provender came, because there is little documentary evidence on this point. It may likewise be doubted whether money economy had developed quite as far or as rapidly as seems to be suggested. There is a full and valuable index, a little mechanically compiled, with Friars Minor differentiated from Franciscans, and with—strange oversight—Compostella placed too confidently in Italy.

G. R. Potter

History in Leicester. By Colin D. B. Ellis, M.C., M.A., F.S.A. $9\frac{3}{4}\times 6$. Pp. 138. City of Leicester Publicity Department, 1948. 9*s*. 6*d*.

The historic English towns have not been well served by their historians. Few of them have a really first-rate history by modern standards; some have none at all. Now that the study of English local history is undergoing such a marked revival it is to be hoped that we shall see, in the not too distant years, a number of town histories worthy of their great subjects by those who combine a general historical training with local knowledge and affection.

The town of Leicester, however, has long been an exception to this neglect by local historians. Its four volumes of Borough Records are well known to all students of urban history; but they are only one of several important publishing enterprises undertaken by the city council during the past forty years or so. There is, too, a long tradition of local scholars who have written the history of the town, beginning with James Thompson's very readable *History of Leicester*, published in the autumn of 1849. Since that date others have rewritten its history in their own way, the most recent being Mr. S. H. Skillington, who published his account in 1923. And here, after an interval of twenty-five years, we have Mr. Colin Ellis producing a handsome volume under the aegis of the city, which thus continues the good tradition that Leicester has for public interest in its own historic past.

Mr. Ellis has deliberately called his book *History in Leicester* rather than a history of Leicester, and his aim has been 'to find out and explain what the town was like when it was first founded and how it changed and developed until it became what it was when I first remember it'. With the aid of a number of excellent maps of the town at different stages in its history, and of many good illustrations of buildings and sites, he takes the reader from the first phase as a temporary military post in the Roman Conquest up to the early years of the twentieth century. His book is well proportioned between the different 'periods'. For once, we have a town history which begins with an adequate and careful treatment of the early archaeology of the site. The important Roman discoveries of the past twelve years are properly discussed, and so also is the more difficult

problem of the Anglo-Saxon archaeology of the town. We do not, as so often, dispose of the whole period before Domesday in about a page and a half for want of 'written records'.

At the other end of the book we have a sensible and balanced discussion of the Victorian rebuilding of the town (in which, it must be admitted, many things worth preserving were thoughtlessly swept away) and of the kind of architecture it produced—not all of it bad by any means. In each of the four parts into which his book is divided, Mr. Ellis provides a short book-list for further reading, a description of the surviving buildings that fall into that particular period, and a number of contemporary accounts of the town, from Leland onwards.

Many town histories, even where they are good, suffer from an excessive preoccupation with political institutions. Mr. Ellis deals with these adequately in his book, but he remembers all the time that a town is a physical organism as well, so that his approach to his subject and his style are thoroughly practical. For this reason, as well as for others, his book can be read with pleasure, not only by those who have a general interest in English urban history but also by those visiting the town who need a reliable guide to its nineteen hundred years of growth.

The city of Leicester is to be commended upon a handsome piece of book-production at a moderate price, and upon its wise choice of author to display its history to the intelligent visitor.

W. G. Hoskins

A History of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in Wales and on the Welsh Border, including an Account of the Templars. By William Rees. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. 131. Western Mail and Echo, Limited, Cardiff, 1947.

Professor Rees has made a notable contribution to the history of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in Wales. He has included a general sketch of the foundation, the later history after leaving Palestine for Rhodes and Malta, and the revival in England in 1831. Little was previously known of the history of the Order and its possessions in Wales, and the book has as a background the author's profound knowledge of the history and records of the principality and of the borderland of the Marches. The well-known report, made in 1338, by the prior of England with its survey of the estates is the main source of knowledge of the organization of each commandery or bailiwick, the officers and servants, and management of the property. Professor Rees has traced the founders and the donors of the various estates and followed up their acquisition by different owners after the suppression of the Order in 1540 by Henry VIII. There were three commanderies of the Order of St. John associated with Wales: Slebech in Carmarthenshire, to which the property of the Hospitallers in the diocese of St. Davids was attached; Dinmore in Herefordshire, from which the estates in the diocese of Llandaff were administered; Halston near Whittington in Shropshire, which embraced the estates of north Wales in the dioceses of St. Asaph and Bangor. The suppression of the Order of the Templars was approved at the Council of Vienne (not *Vienna*) in 1311 and Pope Clement V transferred their property to the Hospitallers. They had difficulty in getting possession of some estates. In a letter of the English bishops of the province of Canterbury to the Pope in 1320[1] it was explained that the Templars' lands held of temporal lords were deemed to have escheated, and that though the king had given to the Hospitallers those which escheated to himself, private lords were not so bound, and these invoked the writ of Prohibition to prevent the bishops from interfering with lay fees. Gilbert de Clare seized the manor of Pencarn with Cogan and held it until his death in 1314. The widow of Sir Richard de Harley kept Templar lands for several years but gave them up after excommunication by the bishop of Hereford, but the powerful Fitz-Alan family seized and held Lidley and the manor of Cardington.

A list of Commanders of Slebech, Dinmore, and Halston is included. One other name can

[1] *Register of Hamo de Hethe*, pp. 77–9 (Canterbury and York Society).

be added to those of Slebech; Augustine *circa* 1288, whose letter to the prior of Barnstaple is in the Bibliothèque Nationale (L. 875, no. 38).

Three maps show the situation of the various properties in 1338, distinguishing the possessions of the Hospitallers from those acquired from the Templars. All that is possible has been gleaned from the archaeological evidence and illustrated. The most interesting is the Templars' church at Garway with its late-twelfth-century chancel arch; in 1927 an excavation revealed the round nave reconstructed in the thirteenth century.[1] The ruined church of Slebech stands by the mansion built in the nineteenth century on the site of the commandery. In the south wall of the present house at Dinmore there is a fourteenth-century doorway. The former church of Yspytty Ifan, at the hospice of the Order in the mountains of north Wales, is reproduced from an old print.

R. GRAHAM

The Alphabet: A Key to the History of Mankind. By DAVID DIRINGER. With a Foreword by SIR ELLIS MINNS. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 6$. Pp. xii+607, 256 figs. London: Hutchinson's Scientific and Technical Publications, 1948. 50*s*.

It is now sixty-five years since Isaac Taylor's classic book, *The Alphabet*, was published. Since then an immense amount of fresh material relating to the forms of writing has been accumulated, as a result chiefly of archaeological research, and it is probably the immensity of the task that has deterred anyone before Dr. Diringer from undertaking a revision of Taylor's work. The book before us is nothing less than a one-man encyclopedia, and this in itself suggests the uneasy thought that perhaps to-day a work of such wide scope must inevitably be beyond the competence of one man. This is not, of course, Dr. Diringer's first essay on the subject; his *L'alfabeto nella storia della civiltà* was published in 1937, and the results of his more specialized researches have appeared in *Le iscrizioni antico-ebraiche Palestinesi* and elsewhere. The present reviewer is not competent to offer any criticism of the non-European portion, but his reading of this book as a whole and acquaintance with Dr. Diringer's other work suggests that the author is less at home in some of the later chapters than in the first part and the earlier chapters of the second.

Part I is devoted (after a general introduction) to the non-alphabetic systems of writing, beginning with the cuneiform. The subjects Dr. Diringer has to tackle here are, of course, of absorbing interest—among others (I note only a few) the Cretan scripts, the likewise undeciphered script of the Indus Valley civilization (only revealed to us in the past few years), the writing of China, the scripts of the early peoples of Central America and Mexico, and the mysterious signs of Easter Island—and a writer would need to wield a very dull pen indeed to spoil our pleasure in a fresh account of these and their problems. These are not, of course, alphabetic scripts, and seem to us in consequence rather remote from the history of our own alphabet. In the chapter preceding that devoted to an account of the Greek alphabet I can only say that nothing seems to have been overlooked, but I confess to finding myself less satisfied with subjects of which I can claim more detailed knowledge.

The presentation of the material on the runes and oghams in the appendix to Chapter IX, for example, seems to me confusing and inadequate. In the case of the runes it would have been better if the background of the subject had been first built up on an analysis of the references in Old Norse and Anglo-Saxon literature; in a book of this standard such treatment would have been preferable to such general statements as 'early Germanic sagas and poems abound with instances of the magic power of runes', followed by two random examples (for which no source is quoted and one of which contains a too palpable error—the son of Skallagrim was Egill, not

[1] *Antiq. Journ.* viii, 238–40.

Egiu). This section also serves to illustrate a quite definite defect of at any rate the later part of the book, namely, the overcrowding of the illustrations. As a result, some have had to be so reduced as to be practically useless; take, for instance, the jumble in fig. 229—I submit that item 10 is quite valueless. Generally speaking, the runic material is presented in an amateurish way. The various groups are not sufficiently separated, nor presented in any logical order. As regards the citing of manuscript authorities for runic alphabets great caution is necessary. It would, for instance, have been as well to warn the reader that the runes cited as from Cotton MS. Otho B. x are no longer extant in that manuscript, which suffered severely in the fire at Ashburnham House in 1731, and we are now dependent for our knowledge of them on the copy printed by Hickes in his *Thesaurus*; thus neither the date nor even the authenticity of the original can now be a matter of certainty. For example, it may be noted in this connexion that while the alphabet in Cotton MS. Domitian A. ix (which Hickes also prints) is authentic, the Latin equivalents are late, so late, indeed, as to be in the hand of the sixteenth-century antiquary Robert Talbot, a fact which could not have been ascertained from Hickes's reproduction, though he does note them as *in manu recentiore*. The runic alphabets in manuscripts were at any rate discussed by Professor Wrenn exhaustively in *Medium Ævum*, i. 24–34, a reference to which should have appeared in the bibliography. This bibliography itself—and I am not overlooking the fact that it is selective—is very uneven; we miss the earliest classic discussion of the runes, Isaac Taylor's *Greeks and Goths* (1879), and reference should certainly have been made to volume v (1921) of Baldwin Brown's *The Arts in Early England*, in which Professor Blyth Webster supplied a general account of runic epigraphy and a detailed examination of the runes of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses. Also overlooked is the slim but important volume of 1895 by Wilhelm Vietor, *Die northumbrischen Runensteine*. As the general reader is being catered for as well as the specialist, reference should have been made, in respect of the Swedish material, to Erik Brate's small and useful book, *Sveriges Runinskrifter*, and as regards the Scandinavian material generally to Shetelig and Falk's *Scandinavian Archaeology*, which is available to English readers in E. V. Gordon's translation (1937). As Othin, according to the 'Ynglinga Saga', taught his magic arts by runes, so the druids were almost certainly the inventors of the oghams for the dissemination of their own esoteric knowledge to pupils and initiates. Dr. Diringer's treatment of the oghams is as unsatisfactory as his study of the runes. Nothing is said about the various types of oghams, for instance, and there is no reference to Professor Macalister's study of them in his *Secret Languages of Ireland* (1937), and as Dr. Diringer allows himself to add a note on the Pictish language, it would have been as well to refer to Professor O'Neill's important paper in *Yorkshire Celtic Studies*, ii, 1938–9, 3–45. Also inadequate is the author's treatment of the national hands of western Europe; any non-specialist reader of this portion of the book would be most unlikely to have any clear mental picture of the development of the national hands. It is admittedly very difficult to present this material in a restricted space, but that it can be done is shown by Dr. Lowe's chapter in *The Legacy of the Middle Ages*, which is as excellent in exposition as in illustration (choice of illustration is a most exacting test of competence in such a subject). I cannot see that any useful purpose is served by devoting two pages (556, 557) to specimens of printing types; the space would have been better devoted to a fuller study of the Renaissance scripts, the section on which is quite useless; Dr. Diringer should have avoided at any rate reiterating the old legend that the Italic hand is an imitation of the handwriting of Petrarch (p. 552). The bibliography following this chapter (X) is very uneven; one important omission is Stanley Morison's '*Black-Letter*' *Text* (1942), and many references are misleading—for example, Lindsay's *Palaeographia Latina* is described as 'Oxford, 1922 onwards', thus giving the impression that it is still current, whereas only six parts were published, the last being in 1929. And space should certainly have been found to include in the general bibliography at the end of the book a reference to Gleichen and Reynolds's *Alphabets of Foreign Languages*, an invaluable book

published by the Royal Geographical Society and reprinted in 1944. The later portion of the book, at any rate, therefore seems to give some ground of support to our first uneasy thought that a field so enormous as that chosen by Dr. Diringer is really beyond the competence of one man.

C. E. WRIGHT

L'Iconographie byzantine du Crucifié mort sur la croix. By L. H. GRONDIJS. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. iv+231, with 25 plates. Second edition. Institut de Sociologie, Brussels, and Société d'Éditions Kemink en Zoon, Utrecht, 1947.

Strange as it may seem to-day to eyes accustomed to images of the lifeless body of the Saviour, it would appear that not until about a thousand years after the Crucifixion was a portrayal of Christ dead on His Cross permissible. In deference to accepted doctrines Christians had, until the fifth century, abstained—except possibly in private—even from showing Him on the Cross; and during the centuries between when He was shown crucified and when He was shown dead, it was forbidden to reflect in material form the agonies He suffered on the Cross. It was as Christ Triumphant, and not as Christ the Sacrifice, that He long appeared in Byzantine imagery; and doctrinal considerations in respect to the mutual relations of the Word and the Crucified Body stood in the way of depiction of the Saviour on the Cross as otherwise than living. Like the artists of all contemporary Europe, Byzantine artists could not give free rein to their imaginations when representing the principal events of Christ's Passion; composition and style were controlled rigidly by theological doctrine modified, in some degree, by the liturgy of the day and by mysticism. It was almost essential that that should be the case, for presumably the religious convictions of the faithful were far more likely to be affected by what was made visible in material shape than by verbal expositions, however simplified, of theological doctrine. It may, then, well be accepted that it is to some radical modification of Byzantine dogma concerning the actual death of the Saviour that we should look for the change, in the eleventh century, in the way of depicting the Crucifixion. Professor Grondijs has, in his investigation of the iconographical matters involved, therefore examined closely the ecclesiastical history and the theological discussions both of a considerable period before and of the actual time in which the change took place.

Because of the dual nature of the Saviour, opinions regarding the effects of the Crucifixion on the Word made Flesh had long varied. Then, presumably at some time in the first half of the eleventh century, the old doctrines of the imperishable Body assumed, under the influence of a new mystical movement which ultimately won over a great part of the Greek and Slav spheres, a form which at last allowed an image of the Redeemer dead upon the Cross to replace those effigies, regal in bearing and with eyes open, which had portrayed Him living.

There is much of interest, besides the wealth of material essentially theological cited by Professor Grondijs as testimony substantiating his contentions, in the book. Among many other matters worthy of mention for their immediate bearing on iconography are descriptions of, and discussions concerning, what have been thought to be the earliest representations of Christ dead on the Cross, and an inquiry into the question whether there were any such representations before the eleventh century; remarks on the introduction into Italy of the Byzantine imagery of Christ dead and the development there, in the thirteenth century, of analogous imagery; a discussion of the substitution of the crucifix with crossed legs and three nails in the place of the older and more majestic one with feet side by side and four (or two) nails; and a brief reference to the seventeenth-century reintroduction of the crucifix with four nails and its justification by Exodus xii. 46, and Numbers ix. 12. Chapter XI, the last, giving a brief summary of the author's arguments and conclusions, is followed by an ample series of documentary notes, largely *in extenso*, a good alphabetical index, a list of the plates, and a table of contents. Of the plates, nineteen reproduce medieval material.

W. L. HILDBURGH

The Master of Mary of Burgundy. By OTTO PÄCHT. 9⅝×6. Pp. 72+pls. 52. London: Faber & Faber, 1948. 21*s.*

Whether our interests are mainly artistic or historical, this book is unusually satisfying. As art-critic the author is highly trained; but it is refreshing to find that connoisseurship does not cause him to forget that manuscripts and miniatures are also historical documents.

He sets out to reconstitute the personality of the Master from a study of his *œuvre* in relation to the works of his senior and junior contemporaries. Characteristically the artist, whose original genius carried the medieval craft of illumination to a degree of complex perfection, remains himself anonymous. The facile identification with Alexander Bening—satisfactory only to those who like the art-dealer must find some name for the great—is shown to be improbable.

The ideas which he seeks to define are far from simple, as is inevitable when appraising a cultural product of the Burgundian court, but Dr. Pächt's idiom if personal is not lacking in clarity. He has courage to state precisely his own views on delicate issues while furnishing the reader with references and above all illustrations on which to form a private judgement, e.g. on the Master's transition to his mature style. If the unsophisticated eyes of at least one reader can scarcely accept the possibility of the Master's evolution from the conventional borders (or vignettes, see note 11) to the audacious *trompe l'œil* style of the later miniatures, Dr. Pächt states his interpretation with admirable skill and honesty.

The book has three sections, which may be read as separate studies. They are: text, notes and a catalogue of the material. A general bibliography follows the text, and the other sections contain abundant specialized bibliographical data. There is some compensation for this lack of unity, since the text is devoted to the Master's artistic development, the notes to historical and iconographical investigation, while the catalogue provides objective detail. Certain notes (e.g. 9, 19, 27) are veritable essays on aspects of contemporary civilization.

Of much value is the examination of the Master's 'mannered' style. His methods were too disciplined and adapted to his medium (e.g. his representation of the human eye) for him to fall into that vulgar self-effacement of *ars est celare artem.* To modern eyes the beauty of his landscapes is perhaps most pleasing (plates, C. 20, 28). Whether to prefer the austere Gothic representation in grisaille of Margaret of York (plates 2, 44) or the sumptuous Mary of Burgundy (plates 12, 45) or the grotesques (plates 33, 47) is for personal taste.

Dr. Pächt is rightly aware that the miniatures are precious documents for the history of religious sentiment, and illustrate one branch of the Devotio Moderna, which despite its sumptuous setting was not so far from the *Imitatio Christi*, as witness the extraordinary miniature (plate 1) of Margaret of York kneeling (with her greyhound) before the Christ of the Resurrection in the attitude of *Noli me tangere.* The use of light to convey the splendour of paradise (plate 37) compares with the *Ascent of the Elect* by Bosch in the Doges' Palace.

The Master's use of perspective in correlating miniature and frame, his most spectacular achievement, is considered with the care that it requires. A word must be said about the flowers and insects of these frames. *Rosa gallica* and *Rosa alba* (the Master prefers the former unlike most of his Italian contemporaries) are shown superbly in every stage from close bud to full bloom, the calyx and pedicel being especially exact. The butterflies, executed with amazing correctness as regards colour and position of the wings, include Tortoise-shell and Fritillaries; the Magpie moth is also shown.

Note 41 may be misleading. Payments to the established officers, appointed by the duke to the household of Margaret of York, are preserved (with gaps) in the *Comptes journaliers de l'hôtel de Madame.* These daily accounts frequently enter considerable sums disbursed 'par la main de Madame'. It is these personal expenses, details of which were not rendered to the duke's accountant, that can rarely be traced. C. A. J. ARMSTRONG

Les Origines de l'art français des temps préhistoriques à l'époque carolingienne. By R. LANTIER and J. HUBERT. 11 × 8¼. Pp. 88. Paris: Guy le Prat, 1947.

This book is instructive and delightful. Its 362 illustrations, well chosen to tell their own story, carry the eye on an effortless journey through the art of France as far as the Carolingian period. At the start we welcome some new admissions from the Grotte de Lascaux to the familiar gallery of cave-art. The sculpture and architecture of the Roman and Early Christian periods are beautifully photographed. When we end amid the studied patterns of Carolingian painters there are three pages of the drawings of the Psautier d'Utrecht to set us wondering at the unpredictability of genius. Both illustrations and letter-press are printed on mat paper, in light and dark brown respectively. No better medium could have been chosen to convey the relief and texture of ancient sculpture. The reliefs of the Arles sarcophagi are particularly successful.

About one-half of the volume is devoted to the text, an essay on the broad history of the art. Detailed remarks on each of the plate reproductions is assigned to the accompanying rubrics. To say that M. Lantier's contribution is stimulating and compact of information is to do it less than justice. After all, an *encyclopédie* is traditionally more than an encyclopaedia, for besides listing facts it distils from them a philosophy. M. Lantier respects the French usage, even when, back to the wall, he is reduced to formulating his philosophy of art in almost aphoristic concision. For one is aware, rather uncomfortably, that the author is the victim of enforced brevity and the worthy demands of popularization. But it is a noble sacrifice. A pity only that in offering, even as allusively as M. Lantier does, the prehistoric and early historical art found in France as the art of the French national entity, and in suggesting that of the three great traditions of early European art—the Classical, the Iberian, and the Celtic—French art is peculiarly heir to the last, the lack of space prevents him from developing an interesting theme at more satisfying length. As it is, the essay is full of suggestion.

No one is quite content to regard the art of the Upper Palaeolithic as utterly ritualistic, communal, impersonal. It is difficult to believe that the cave artist did not exceed the minimum demanded by fertility and hunting magic. He may even have exploited the superstition of his fellows, as M. Lantier amusingly hints, accepting the role of unproductive functionary in order to gratify his urge to quite personal self-expression; in which case one may suppose he could on occasion be as embittered as any modern by an unappreciative and scoffing public.

An essential something of the French nation, M. Lantier would maintain, was constituted at least by La Tène times. 'Qui dit nation dit contraste plutôt que ressemblance'—M. Lantier says nothing more definitive of nation, though he speaks of the contrast as that inherent in a consciously competitive community, struggling 'to keep its place in the sun'. By the same token the earlier Bronze Age art, and the Hallstatt art which largely prolonged the same tradition, were cosmopolitan, repetitive, sterile. So M. Lantier's theory of art would seem to be inseparable from his political philosophy. Reading of 'les vieux principes anticlassiques de l'art européen' we momentarily scan wide horizons. Suddenly we assent: 'Aucun art n'est spontané. Ce qui lui donne son originalité, c'est le don de réceptivité, d'adaptation et de transformation imparti à chaque peuple.'

It is in the cause of popularization, the avowed purpose of the series to which the present volume belongs, that M. Lantier must be criticized. His close-knit text needs a good deal of concentration even from a reader determined to savour every allusion and armed with the rudiments of prehistory. His pithy commentary on Palaeolithic art, for example, cannot fail to stimulate interest, but it takes several re-readings to piece together a logical account of the technical development through the various stages of Upper Palaeolithic culture. Facts and interpretation are inextricably intertwined. Two pints have been poured into a pint pot, and for the beginner the extra pint is heady liquor.

The challenge of the French nation lay more lightly on M. Hubert, and he felt no obligation to break philosophic spears. His historical narrative of Merovingian and Carolingian art is clear and calm. His theme is the persistence of tradition through vicissitudes.

We should perhaps have pointed out earlier that M. Henri Carles was responsible for the documentation and *mise en pages* of the book. It is possible that his intervention explains, though it cannot excuse, the curious mutual aloofness of text and illustrations. Some things are spoken of which are not illustrated, and many pieces figured are not assigned in the text. Frequently text and illustrations naturally converge, but the reader has himself to congratulate on these happy conjunctions, for no textual reference comes to his aid. The plates *hors texte* have each an explicit note adjoined. *In texto* there is a separate series of small illustrations, each with a Roman number, to which a bare list of titles at the end of the book, and apparently nothing else, refers. This is exasperating. The scale, as usual, is never given.

W. WATSON

Local Style in English Architecture: an Enquiry into its Origin and Development. By THOMAS DINHAM ATKINSON, F.R.I.B.A. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. viii+183, illustrated by drawings, plans, and photographs. London: Batsford, 1947. 15*s*.

Mr. T. D. Atkinson out of his mature knowledge and experience has written an admirable study of the origins of local styles in English medieval architecture. It is refreshing to find a cultural and intelligent book issued in a popular form and at a reasonable price. It is exactly what was required to clear away the verbiage and lay a foundation for the future consideration of this interesting subject. It opens with a comprehensive review of the elements concerned in the formation of style—geology, geography, race, religion, wealth, transport, fashion, and foreign influence—and goes on to apply these elements to the subject in hand.

The greater part of the book is devoted to the parish church, as it is often the only accessible building open to an ordinary student of architecture—indeed, during the medieval period religious and secular architecture were closely allied—and this is well, for the manor-house is often out of bounds and the parish church has to serve two purposes. The usefulness of the book is further strengthened by maps, graphs, plans, and eight appendixes relating to special forms and subjects, together with several drawings by the author and many photographic illustrations. These are sometimes apt to lead both author and reader astray; no. 114 of Lower Peover, Cheshire, shows the south side, on page 108 the author commenting upon it says: 'Sometimes a series of diagonal braces are used, followed by another series in the opposite direction, producing a herring-bone effect more quaint than beautiful.' With this dictum I entirely agree; the aisle being brick was rebuilt in timber by Salvin in 1852, when he replaced the correct single roof of the church with three gables and completely transformed the east end, so that it can no longer be classed as a medieval example.

On page 18 Mr. Atkinson says, 'we have abandoned the attractive idea that mediaeval architecture was wrought by craftsmen who worked for the sheer joy of working'. The statement may now be correct, but personally I have been fortunate in finding several craftsmen who were more interested in their work than in their wages and who found a great pride in their labours. The author quotes several times from two invaluable books, Salzman's *Documentary History of Mediaeval Architecture* and Harvey's *A Biographical Dictionary of Mediaeval Architects*; neither has been published because of the cost. Should some effort not be made by the antiquarian societies or a government department to make such accumulated knowledge available to students and to the general public?

FRED. H. CROSSLEY

Greater English Church Screens, being Great Roods, Screenwork, and Rood-lofts in Cathedral, Monastic, and Collegiate Churches in England and Wales. By AYMER VALLANCE. $10\frac{1}{4}\times7\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. viii+184, and 150 illustrations. London: Batsford, 1947. 30*s.*

This posthumous volume by Aymer Vallance, one of our most respected Fellows, would have formed a fitting memorial to him, if his literary executor Mr. Edward Long had prefaced it with an Introduction telling us a little about the writer and his work. In its present form it gives no indication that it is the completion of a thesis upon church screenwork, the earlier volume upon *Parish Church Screens* (1936), which proved at once an authoritative book upon the subject, to be followed by *Greater English Church Screens* including the screenwork in cathedrals and monastic and collegiate churches in England and Wales, now issued. It was practically complete before the author died, but he would no doubt have revised it before publication, for there are two or three small slips which he would have rectified. On page 95, Bolton, W.R. Yorkshire: the quire of the church as far as the walls are concerned still stands, showing something of the charm of the fabric when complete. Page 94, Brecon St. John: the screen of which the writer speaks is still within the church, occupying the two north-eastern bays of the nave arcade. Figure 118 is the east side of the pulpitum at Wells, not the west. These small errors in no wise detract from a volume of the greatest value describing the construction and use of pulpita, rood-screens, chantry screens, and parcloses, well documented, illustrated, and crowded with interesting data relating to medieval procedure and ritual. The plans, drawings, and diagrams showing many of the screens in an earlier condition are not the least valuable part of the book, especially the reproductions of the Buckler drawings which are not only accurate delineations of fact but beautiful in themselves.

For several years occasional papers upon the screenwork of a single county appeared in various journals over his signature, and these formed the basis upon which he eventually constructed his account of English Church screenwork now completed in two volumes. From the first he was thorough in his procedure, taking infinite pains so that little escaped his observing eye. I once had the privilege of accompanying and assisting him in his researches in the East Riding of Yorkshire; he taught me how to examine old woodwork and what to be on the look-out for when doing so. Like a good antiquary Vallance was thoughtful and considerate to his younger brethren; he was, in fact, ready to listen or discuss any point that might arise in connexion with his subject.

We owe gratitude to Mr. Harry Batsford for publishing and seeing through the press this volume, more a labour of love than one of bookselling, thereby possibly rescuing it from an unmerited oblivion.

FRED. H. CROSSLEY

A Study of the Patterns on Roman Flue-tiles and their Distribution. By A. W. G. LOWTHER, F.S.A. $9\frac{3}{4}\times7\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. 35. Research papers of the Surrey Archaeological Society, No. 1. n.d.

This pamphlet is doubly welcome, both as the inaugurator of what promises to be a very useful series, and as the first comprehensive study of a new category of archaeological evidence. Flue-tiles with patterns in relief have often attracted casual notice; Mr. Lowther shows that they represent the work of a limited number of firms, mostly based on London or its neighbourhood, but also supplying places as far away as Kenchester and Wall, Leicester and Margidunum. The patterns, as he is able to show, were primarily functional, to assist the keying of the tiles into their plaster setting: but several firms used them, in addition, to form in effect a trade-mark (though not all of them took the opportunity of recording their names, as CABRIABANVS did). The present study analyses and illustrates the known types and their distribution; the text is clear and succinct, the drawings excellent; altogether the author and the Surrey Archaeological Society are to be congratulated on a very stimulating production.

ERIC BIRLEY

Windmills in England: a study of their origin, development and future. By REX WAILES. $11 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. viii+48. London: The Architectural Press, 1948. 12*s.* 6*d.*

This book has the great merit of having been written by a practical engineer who has studied windmills at first hand for many years and has an eye for their mechanical as well as their pictorial beauty. The photographic illustrations are admirable and still more so the diagrammatic drawings which supplement them. Naturally the eastern counties provide most of the examples.

The history, development, and distribution of the windmill in England and Wales is traced from its beginning in the late twelfth century to the present day, when it is on the point of extinction. The book concludes with a glossary, and a distribution map and list of the mills mentioned.

Mr. Wailes has not been well served by his publishers. The book is a reprint, with additions, of a special issue of the *Architectural Review* published in September 1945. Unfortunately the beauties of symmetry and proportion which are so characteristic of the windmill have been ignored and the reader—at any rate this old-fashioned reviewer—is continually annoyed by unbalanced setting out of the lettering and illustrations, which could only be excused by the need for economy of paper, an excuse which is not valid in this case. The format is in fact one which might be applicable to a trade catalogue, but is quite unworthy of a treatise of permanent value which records a vitally important element in the medieval life of Britain.

W. J. HEMP

Kirby Hall, Northamptonshire. By G. H. CHETTLE, F.S.A. Official Guide. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. 20. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1947. 1*s.*

Mr. Chettle's admirably arranged guide is the fullest and by far the most authoritative discussion of this important building that has appeared up to date. The descriptive parts are clear and should add enormously to the pleasure and profit of visitors, and the discussion of the design raises a number of points of considerable interest to antiquarians. The most interesting of these concern the alterations to the original design which gave to the west front its present splendour. The guide shows clearly that the fine row of enriched gables is a later addition. One is left speculating as to the earlier treatment of the roofs of these wings. Is it possible that the pitched roof was made necessary by the decision to make a barrel-vaulted long gallery down this wing and that previously the wings had flat roofs? This would perhaps explain the awkwardness with which the present roofs meet the enriched gables of the main hall block as seen from the courtyard.

The discussion of the north front is very clear, and it is good to learn that the œil-de-bœuf windows, the last of which fell down just before the house was taken over by the Office of Works, have been replaced. It would perhaps be a help to the understanding of the very complex and subtle design of this front if a future edition contained a reproduction of the engraving of this front before the roofs had perished.

GEOFFREY WEBB

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

PROC. BRIT. ACAD., vol. 30, 1944:—Potter and painter in ancient Athens, by J. D. Beazley; The survival of Anglo-Saxon illumination after the Norman Conquest, by F. Wormald; The compilation of the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris, by F. M. Powicke.

JOURN. R. ANTHROPOLOGICAL INST., vol. 74, pts. 1 and 2:—The place of material culture in the study of anthropology, by Prof. J. H. Hutton; Archaeological ages as technological stages, by Prof. V. Gordon Childe; Dakakari grave pottery, by R. T. D. FitzGerald.

ANNALS OF ARCH. & ANTHROP., vol. 28:—Kazaphani, by J. R. Stewart; 1600–1400 B.C. in the Eastern Mediterranean, by T. Burton Brown; The dating of the Hissar III period and its importance for Indian archaeology, by T. Burton Brown; Mita of Paḫḫuwa, by O. R. Gurney; The location of Pakhuwa, by John Garstang; The work of the Trajanic potter G. Julius Vibinus or Vibius of Lezoux, by F. Oswald.

ANNUAL BR. SCHOOL ATHENS, vol. 43:—Excavations in Ithaca, V: The geometric and later finds from Aetos, by W. A. Heurtley and M. Robertson; The Greek theatre cavea, by O. A. W. Dilke; Losses and survivals in the Dodecanese, by T. W. French; The use of the straight iota in Corinthian epichoric inscriptions, by L. H. Jeffery; *Inscriptiones Graecae*, V. 1: some afterthoughts, by A. M. Woodward; What is protogeometric?, by V. R. Desborough.

ANTIQUITY, no. 87, Sept. 1948:—Fowling in prehistoric Europe, by Grahame Clark; Sutton Hoo and Beowulf, by Sune Lindqvist; The Phoenicians on the west coast of Africa, by D. B. Harden; Shebib's Wall in Transjordan, by Sir A. Kirkbride; The Rise of Wessex: a review, by F. T. Wainwright; An unpublished letter from the Etruscologist, George Dennis, by J. S. P. Bradford.

No. 88, Dec. 1948:—The early plan and town houses of Silchester, by Aileen Fox; The development of the cruck framework, by J. Walton; The royal barrows at Jelling, by E. Dyggve; Mesopotamian archaeology: a review, by V. Gordon Childe; The date of Cunedda, by A. H. A. Hogg.

JOURN. R.I.B.A., vol. 56, no. 2:—St. Paul's Cathedral. Its war damage and repair.

JOURN. SOC. ARMY HIST. RESEARCH, vol. 26, no. 107:—The 6th (Inniskilling) Dragoons, 1811, by L. E. Buckell; A sketch-map of Castlebar, 27th August, 1798, by T. H. McGuffie; General Hawley's 'Chaos', by Rev. P. Sumner; The great kettledrums of the artillery, by H. G. Farmer; The Bingham manuscripts. 2nd/53rd in the Peninsular War, 1809–10 and 1812–13, edited by T. H. McGuffie; The 23rd Light Dragoons and Colonel Thomas Crewe Dod, by L. E. Buckell; Order book of the Brigade of Guards in Germany, 1761–2, edited by Rev. P. Sumner; Military memoirs of Lieut.-General the Hon. Charles Colville, pt. 3, edited by J. O. Robson.

Vol. 26, no. 108:—Private, 17th Lancers, 1832, by Rev. P. Sumner; Some evidence for Burgoyne's expedition, edited by C. T. Atkinson; The dress of the Bombay soldier, by Sir P. Cadell; Rockets in the Napoleonic Wars: Laycock's diary, edited by J. O. Robson; Military surgeons in the 16th and 17th centuries, by Col. D. Stewart; The Canterbury Yeomanry Cavalry, New Zealand, by L. E. Buckell; Reedbeds Mounted Volunteers, 1860–7, by L. E. Buckell.

BURLINGTON MAG., May 1948:—War damage to the monuments of Vicenza, by G. de Angelis d'Ossat; A representation of the marriage of Mary Stuart, by J. Adhémar.

June 1948: Hogarth's early painting: II 1728: The Beggar's Opera, by R. B. Beckett.

Aug. 1948: Hogarth's early painting: III 1728/9: The Gaols Enquiry, by R. B. Beckett.

Sept. 1948: Some Augsburg armours etched by Jörg Sorg, by J. F. Hayward; George Gower, Serjeant Painter to Queen Elizabeth, by J. W. Goodison.

Oct. 1948:—Antonio Gentili da Faenza and the large candlesticks in the Treasury of St. Peter's, by W. F. Volbach.

Nov. 1948: Two unknown Flemish miniatures of the eleventh century, by R. Schilling; 'Signor Guelfi, an Italian', by K. A. Esdaile.

Jan. 1949:—Some early portraits of Charles I, by M. R. Toynbee; The busts and statues of Charles I, by K. A. Esdaile; Edward Bower, painter of Charles I at his trial, by E. K. Waterhouse.

CAMBRIDGE HIST. JOURN., vol. 9, no. 2:—Stubbs seventy years after, by Helen Cam; The gentry of Kent in 1640, by P. Laslett; The end of the Napoleonic Senate, by J. P. T. Bury.

CONNOISSEUR, June 1948:—The 'Master of Moulins' identified, pt. 1, by M. H. Goldblatt; Indian Sculpture—II, by V. S. Swaminathan; Regional design and ornament of joined furniture, by R. W. Symonds; The American wing of the Metropolitan Museum, by an American correspondent.

Sept. 1948:—The 'Master of Moulins' identified, pt. 2, by M. H. Goldblatt; Konrad fecit: the story of a remarkable forger, by H. Schedelmann; An early orrery by Thomas Tompion and George Graham, by G. H. Gabb and F. Sherwood Taylor; Portraits of Hogarth's family, by R. B. Beckett; By whose hand? Did the Elers have a 'hausmaler'?, by F. Tilley; Quattrocento portrait sculpture in the National Gallery, Washington, by H. Comstock.

Dec. 1948:—Exhibition of Limousin enamels at the Museum of Limoges, by A. Boinet; Scottish silver in Edinburgh, by I. Finlay; A 'Tree of Jesse' tapestry panel, by B. Kurth; Konrad fecit: the story of a remarkable forger, by H. Schedelmann; The Lisley collection of Elizabethan glasses, by W. A. Thorpe; A rare hall-marking anomaly, by C. Oman.

JOURN. OF DOCUMENTATION, vol. 4, no. 2:—Heraldry, flags, and seals: a select bibliography, with annotations, covering the period 1920 to 1945, by S. Trehearne Cope.

FOLK-LORE, vol. 59:—Some remarks on Greek folk-tales, by R. M. Dawkins; Archaeology and folklore, by H. J. Fleure; Folklore of the Ghetto, by C. Roth; Staves and sceptres, by F. S. Burnell.

GENEALOGISTS' MAG., vol. 10, no. 7:—The records of the Customs and Excise services, by R. C. Jarvis; The physical side of genealogy, by G. Hamilton-Edwards; The wife of John Pagrave II of Northwood Berningham, by G. A. Moriarty.

Vol. 10, no. 8:—Lady Chandos's Register, edited by C. H. C. Baker; An Elizabethan manuscript peerage, by M. Barrington.

JOURN. BRIT. SOC. MASTER GLASS-PAINTERS, vol. 10, no. 1:—The east window of the Chapel of Trinity Hospital, Greenwich, by B. Rackham; The origin and use of silver stain, by N. Heaton; The fourteenth-century Winchester glass at Ettington, Warwickshire, by H. T. Kirby; The lost stained glass treasures of London; Notes on fragments of painted glass in St Michael's Church, Basingstoke, by W. H. R. Blacking; *Vitrail* (stained glass), by Viollet-le-Duc, trans. by L. B. Holland.

JOURN. HELLENIC STUDIES, vol. 66:—The Minoan signary, by J. L. Myres; Two 'Naucratite' chalices from Marium, by P. Dikaios; Kallegeneia and Hieros Arotos, by B. Ashmole; A lekythos by the Achilles painter, by J. D. Beazley; Rhegion, Zankle-Messana and the Samians, by E. S. G. Robinson; A *Tabula Iliaca* from Gandhara, by J. Allan; Religious documents from Roman Cyprus, by T. B. Mitford; A Byzantine carol in honour of St. Basil, by R. M. Dawkins; Three vaulted basilicas in Cyprus, by A. H. S. Megaw; Greek and Latin names in Russian dress, by E. H. Minns; A tour in Cyprus, 1934, by W. H. Buckler; A link between Lord Byron and Dionysius Solomós, by R. J. H. Jenkins; Ionia and Greece in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., by R. M. Cook; Archimedes and the design of the Euryalus fort, by A. W. Lawrence; Archaeology in Greece, 1945–7, by J. M. Cook.

ENG. HIST. REVIEW, vol. 63, no. 247:—Ingimund's invasion, by F. T. Wainwright; Luddism, Hampden Clubs, and Trade Unions in Leicestershire, 1816–17, by A. T. Patterson; Statistical account of the London newspapers in the eighteenth century, by Prof. A. Aspinall.

Vol. 63, no. 248:—East Anglian commendation, by B. Dodwell; Trade between England and Russia in the second half of the sixteenth century, by T. S. Willan; Sir Hudson Lowe and the East India Company, by G. C. Kitching; Master Philip the notary and the Fortieth of 1199, by Prof. C. R. Cheney; The *Narratio Historica* of P. Vincentius, 1553, by D. Hay.

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BULL. INST. HIST. RESEARCH, vol. 21, no. 64:—English arguments concerning the feudal status of Aquitaine in the fourteenth century, by P. Chaplais; The Oxford session of the Long Parliament of

Charles II, 9–31 October, 1665, by C. Robbins; Report on the military papers of Field Marshal Sir George Nugent, Bart. (1757–1849), in the Royal United Service Institution Library, by T. H. McGuffie.

TRANS. R. HIST. SOC., 4th ser., vol. 30:—Robert Bacon and the early Dominican school at Oxford, by Miss B. Smalley: The development of London as a centre of conspicuous consumption in the 16th and 17th centuries, by F. J. Fisher; The inaugural ceremonies of the Yorkshire kings and their title to the throne, by C. A. J. Armstrong; The naval defence of British North America, 1739–1763, by G. S. Graham; English exiles in Holland during the reigns of Charles II and James II, by J. Walker; The household of the Norman Kings, by G. H. White.

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Vol. 33, n.s., nos. 117–18:—Classical echoes in medieval authors, by A. Hamilton Thompson.

PROC. HUGUENOT SOC. LONDON, vol. 18, no. 1:—Joseph Savory of Montpellier and his descendants, pts. II and III, by Prof. D. L. Savory; Thomas Papillon, merchant and Whig, 1623–1702, by I. Scouloudi; Some comments on French teaching at Oxford: Pierre du Ploich and Gabriel Du Grès, by E. A. Francis; Huguenot directors of the London Assurance, by Miss S. Minet.

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THE LIBRARY, 5th ser., vol. 2, nos. 2–3:—Forged addresses in the Low Country books in the period of the Reformation, by M. E. Kronenberg; Early English books at the London Oratory. A supplement to S. T. C., by A. F. Allison; Further notes on paper used in England after 1600, by E. Heawood.

5th ser., vol. 2, no. 4:—Geneva as a centre of early printing, by V. Scholderer; The gifts of Elizabethan printers to the Library of King's College, Cambridge, by A. N. L. Munby.

UNIV. LONDON INST. ARCH. Fourth Annual Report, 1946–7:—The Legacy of Asia. Inaugural lecture by M. E. L. Mallowan, Professor of Western Asiatic Archaeology; Humanly-struck flakes from gravels in Hertfordshire, by I. W. Cornwall; The cultural sequence in the Northern Stone Age revised after twelve years' research.

MAN, July 1948:—A report on excavations at Nsuta Hill, Gold Coast, by R. B. Nunoo; The palæanthropi in Italy: the fossil men of Saccopastore and Circeo, pt. 2, by Prof. Sergio Sergi.

Aug. 1948:—Culture strata in the Deccan, by C. von Fürer-Haimendorf.

Oct. 1948:—Pressure flaking in the Northern Kimberley, Australia, by Prof. A. P. Elkin.

MARINER'S MIRROR, vol. 34, no. 3:—H.M.S. *Implacable*, by Lt.-Col. H. Wyllie; The *Wappen von Hamburg*, by R. C. Anderson; Liverpool merchant signals and house-flags, by A. C. Wardle; Operations of the Russian navy during the reign of Napoleon I, by Lt.-Com. R. Daly; Some early British tea-clippers, by D. R. MacGregor; An epoch in models, by E. Cuff; The Martello towers of England, by Com. H. P. Mead.

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NUM. CHRON. (1947), 6th ser., vol. 7, nos. 25–6:—Epigraphical notes on Greek coinage, III: *ΟΒΟΛΟΣ*, by M. N. Tod; Notes on the Indo-Greeks, II, by R. B. Whitehead; Some Greek coins in

Oxford, by J. G. Milne; The mint of Ayr, by J. Allan; Ancient British coins from Lincolnshire, by J. Allan; An unpublished archiepiscopal coin of York, by P. Nelson; Some rare Norman coins, by P. Nelson; A note on medieval epigraphy, by C. A. Whitton; A find of antoniniani at Boothstown, Lancashire, by R. A. G. Carson; The Clifton (Lancashire) find of short cross pennies, by R. A. G. Carson; Roman coins from Skellow, Yorkshire, by N. Smedley; The Folds Farm (Doncaster) hoard (additions), by N. Smedley; A countermarked shilling of James I, by C. H. V. Sutherland; A corrected reading on *Aes* of Colonia Corinthus, by C. H. V. Sutherland; A Civil War hoard from Long Bennington, Lincs., by J. D. A. Thompson; Persian coin said to have been struck at Bahrain, by H. L. Rabino; An overstrike of a barbarous radiate, by T. W. Armitage; The Bermondsey hoard (analysis), by H. Mattingly.

BRIT. NUM. JOURN., vol. 25:—The Stephen mint of 'Bran' . . . : a new attribution, by F. E. Jones; The design of Edward III's silver coinage, by D. F. Allen; The coinages of Edward IV and of Henry VI (restored), by C. E. Blunt and C. A. Whitton; Continental imitations of the rose noble of Edward IV, by A. Thompson; A medal of Anne Boleyn, by D. F. Allen; A few notes on Swiss officers and mercenary regiments in the pay of England, by L. Forrer; The 'Weymouth' and 'Salisbury' mints of Charles I: an omission rectified, by D. F. Allen; A new coin of Henry of Anjou, by D. F. Allen; An unpublished 'mule' of Stephen, by F. E. Jones.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION QUARTERLY, Jan.–Apl. 1948:—King Solomon's Temple and other buildings and works of art, by J. L. Myres; Officials of the cult of Ugarit, by D. M. L. Urie; The route of the Exodus: the first stage, Ramses to Etham, by L. W. B. Rees; Some new Seleucid coins, II, by S. Ben-Dor; Mistranslations, by G. R. Driver.

July–Oct. 1948:—Discoveries in Palestine since 1939, by C. N. Johns; New light on the Negev in ancient times, by N. Lewis; Recent discoveries in Trans-Jordan, by G. Lankester Harding; Salem, by C. Mackay; Ostracon III: 13–18 from Tell ed-Duweir, by D. W. Thomas.

J.R.S., vol. 38, parts 1 and 2:—On the style of Tacitus, by E. Löfstedt; On the Flavian reliefs from the Palazzo della Cancelleria, by H. Last; The fifth campaign of Agricola, by S. N. Miller; A Roman decorated helmet and other objects from Norfolk, by J. M. C. Toynbee and R. R. Clarke; The Latin studies of Hermann and Wilamowitz, by E. Fraenkel; Pliny's Laurentine villa, by A. W. Van Buren; A new Greek calendar and Festivals of the Sun, by S. Weinstock; The geographical catalogue in Acts II, 9–11, by S. Weinstock; The warships of the later Roman Empire, by R. H. Dolley; On some Romano-British place-names, by K. Jackson; Severan art and architecture at Lepcis Magna, by J. B. Ward Perkins; Roman Britain in 1947.

PAPERS BRIT. SCH. AT ROME, vol. 16 (1948):—Minos and Daidalos in Sicily, by T. J. Dunbabin; Two tomb-groups from Selinus, by T. J. Dunbabin; Beasts and their names in the Roman Empire, by J. M. C. Toynbee; The paleography of Latin inscriptions in the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries in Italy, by N. Gray; Chart of letter forms used in 'popular' inscriptions.

BULL. JOHN RYLANDS LIB., vol. 31, no. 2:—King John and the Papal Interdict, by C. R. Cheney; An Arthurian manuscript in the John Rylands Library, by C. E. Pickford; Court Rolls, Rentals, Surveys and analogous documents in the John Rylands Library, by F. Taylor.

31st VOL. WALPOLE SOC., 1942–3:—Lewes Priory and the early group of wall-paintings in Sussex, by Audrey Baker; John Webb's drawings for Whitehall Palace, by M. D. Whinney; More Matthew Paris drawings, by F. Wormald.

JOURN. WARBURG & COURTAULD INST., vol. 10:—Ingres and the antique, by A. Mongan; Virgil's Fourth Eclogue, by H. Mattingly; A reconstruction of the polyptych by Michele Giambono, by E. Sandberg-Vavalà; Queen Elizabeth as Astraea, by F. A. Yates: Illustrations of Shakespeare's plays in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, by T. S. R. Boase; Voltaire and Fragonard: notes on a legend, by J. Seznec; A title-page in Blake's illustrated Genesis manuscript, by P. Nanavutty.

ARCH. AEL., 4th ser., vol. 26:—The building of Hadrian's wall, by C. E. Stevens; A prehistoric grave at Haugh Head, Wooler, by E. F. Collingwood and J. D. Cowen; A Viking sword from Eaglesfield, by J. D. Cowen; Some northern ecclesiastical and communal seals, by C. H. Hunter Blair; A bone weaving-frame from South Shields, by the late R. C. Bosanquet, edited by J. D. Cowen; The Northum-

brians and their southern frontier, by P. Hunter Blair; Museum notes, by J. D. Cowen; The lettering of Romano-British inscribed stones, by L. C. Evetts; Mortarium stamps from Corbridge, by E. Birley and J. P. Gillam.

TRANS. CAMB. & HUNTS. ARCH SOC., vol. 7, pt. 1:—Southoe Manor. Finds in 'Town Orchard' site, by G. L. Clayton; Three chalk weights from Huntingdonshire, by J. R. Garrood; Papers belonging to Ellington Church, Hunts., by S. Inskip Ladds; Roman coin hoard from St. Neots, by C. F. Tebbutt.

ARCH. CANTIANA, vol. 60:—King Wihtred's Charter of A.D. 699, by Gordon Ward; Plans of, and brief architectural notes on, Kent churches, by F. C. Elliston-Erwood; John Philipot, M.P., Somerset Herald, 1624–45, by H. S. London; Some Kentish indents—II, by R. H. D'Elboux; The old Royal Faversham Powder Mills and its storekeeper, by W. P. D. Stebbing; Canterbury excavations in 1945, by A. Williams; Further notes of Jew's harps, by F. C. Elliston-Erwood; Strood old church, by R. H. D'Elboux; The notebook of a Cranbrook verger from 1790 to 1809, by W. P. D. Stebbing; Two palimpsest brasses from Orpington Church, by F. C. Elliston-Erwood; Two incised slabs from Lesnes Abbey, Erith, Kent, by F. C. Elliston-Erwood; An armorial Lambeth delf plate, by R. H. D'Elboux; Prehistoric settlement at Farnborough, Kent, by E. S. Wood.

JOURN. CHESTER & N. WALES ARCHIT., ARCH. & HIST. SOC., vol. 36, pt. 2:—Records of archaeological finds, VI, by Prof. R. Newstead; The status of Roman Chester, by E. Birley; The Chester property of the Nunnery of St. Mary, Clerkenwell, in the twelfth century, by W. O. Hassall.

TRANS. C. & W. A. & A. SOC., vol. 47, n.s.:—The Roman fort at Low Borrow Bridge, by E. Birley; The letters of Catharine, Countess of Suffolk and Berkshire, relating to Levens estates, pt. 1, by Mrs. O. R. Bagot; A prehistoric settlement on Walney Island, pt. 5, by Hon. M. Cross; The coastal mile-fortlet at Cardurnock, by F. G. Simpson and Miss K. S. Hodgson; The appointment of ports in Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire-north-of-the-Sands, by R. C. Jarvis; Old Penrith and its problems, by E. Birley; John Wesley's travels in Cumberland, by T. H. Bainbridge.

PROC. DEVON ARCH. EXPL. SOC., vol. 3, pt. 4:—The excavation of two barrows at East Putford, by C. A. R. Radford and E. H. Rogers; The excavation of a barrow on Brownstone Farm, Kingswear, by E. H. Rogers; Flint implements from Sidmouth, by E. E. Smith.

TRANS. DEVONSHIRE ASSOC., vol. 79, 1947:—66th report on barrows, by R. Hansford Worth; 14th report on early history, by R. R. Darlington; Fittings, furnishings and finishings of the ancient Devon parish churches within a ten mile radius of Newton Abbot, by C. F. Cornelius; Gidleigh, by Lt. Col. G. W. G. Hughes; Some medical and scientific books in Exeter Cathedral Library, by M. P. Crighton; Prehistoric Tavistock, by R. Hansford Worth; The Borough of Tavistock, its origin and early history, by H. P. R. Finberg; Tavistock: the changing scene in the last two centuries, by C. E. Hicks; The stone rows of Dartmoor, pt. 2, by R. Hansford Worth; The central trackway of Dartmoor, by Col. R. Pickard; The hillfort and castle hill at Widworthy, by Lt. Col. J. V. Ramsden; Surnames of Devon. VI. French place-names and Devon family-names, by C. Spiegelhalter; Dartmoor and the Services: Public Inquiry, 16th July, 1947; An antiquary in Devon (W. T. P. Shortt, 1800–81), by R. G. Goodchild.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

Thursday, 28th October 1948. W. H. Godfrey, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.
Mr. W. A. Clark was admitted a Fellow.
Professor Stuart Piggott, F.S.A., read a paper on William Stukeley and his archaeological work.

Thursday, 4th November 1948. Sir Cyril Fox, President, in the Chair.
Mrs. M. E. Murray Threipland, Mr. G. Templeman, Mr. P. Russell, and Mr. L. Munroe were admitted Fellows.
Professor R. E. M. Wheeler, F.S.A., read a paper on four years of field archaeology in India.

Thursday, 11th November 1948. Dr. Joan Evans, Vice-President, in the Chair.
Mr. T. D. Tremlett, F.S.A., exhibited the Bowditch Manuscript and Mr. R. H. Pearson, F.S.A., parts of brasses from Little Chart, Kent, and Standon and Aldenham, Herts.
Mr. H. S. London, F.S.A., read a paper on William Bruges, the first Garter, and the date of the institution of the office of Garter.

Thursday, 18th November 1948. Dr. Joan Evans, Vice-President, in the Chair.
Mr. E. M. Jope, F.S.A., read a paper on Roman lead-glazed pottery in Britain; and Mr. G. C. Dunning, F.S.A., read a paper on the Purbeck marble industry in the Roman period.

Thursday, 25th November 1948. Sir Cyril Fox, President, in the Chair.
M. le Comte de Montesquiou-Fezensac was admitted an Honorary Fellow.
Mr. J. B. Duthie, exhibited a copy of *Observations on Popular Antiquities* (1813) by John Brand, F.S.A., with manuscript additions by Sir Henry Ellis, F.S.A.
Mr. P. K. Baillie Reynolds, F.S.A., read a paper on the Cluniac Priory at Thetford.

Thursday, 2nd December 1948. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.
Mrs. M. B. Heynemann and Lt.-Col. S. E. Glendenning were admitted Fellows.
Dr. W. D. Simpson, F.S.A., and Major H. D. Barnes, F.S.A., read a paper on Caister Castle, Norfolk.

Thursday, 9th December 1948. Dr. Joan Evans, Vice-President, in the Chair.
Professor G. R. Owst and Dr. W. A. Heurtley were admitted Fellows.
Dr. W. L. Hildburgh, F.S.A., read a paper on aeolipiles for blowing the hearth fire.

Thursday, 16th December 1948. Sir Cyril Fox, President, in the Chair.
Miss J. du Plat Taylor, F.S.A., and Miss M. V. Seton-Williams, F.S.A., read a paper on a late Bronze Age mining settlement at Apliki, Cyprus.

Thursday, 13th January 1949. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.
The following were elected Fellows of the Society:—Mr. P. H. Winter, Mr. L. G. G. Ramsey, Prof. E. W. Tristram, Mr. W. F. Northend, Mr. R. I. Threlfall, Mr. B. P. Johnson, Mr. W. A. Eden, Mr. H. Maryon, Miss M. B. Honeybourne, Miss K. S. Hodgson, Rev. N. S. Harding, and Prof. G. R. Potter. Miss V. I. Ruffer, F.S.A., exhibited a sixteenth-century iron inscription found in Beccles church in 1858; Dr. W. L. Hildburgh, F.S.A., exhibited a bone casket of the second half of the 11th century; Mr. R. H. Pearson, F.S.A., exhibited rubbings of Flemish work on palimpsest brasses at Dinton, Bucks., Pottesgrove, Beds., and Fivehead, Som.; Mr. B. W. Pearce, F.S.A., exhibited a selection of Roman and Italian *aes grave* from the Society's collections.

Thursday, 20th January 1949. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. A. D. Lacaille, F.S.A., read a paper on a Stone Industry from Morar, Inverness-shire: its Mesolithic (Obanian) and later affinities.

Thursday, 27th January 1949. Sir Cyril Fox, President, in the Chair.

Mr. W. E. Tate, Mr. P. Styles, and Miss M. B. Honeybourne were admitted Fellows.

On the nomination of the President, the following were appointed Auditors of the Society's Accounts for the year 1948: Mr. J. P. T. Burchell, Mr. G. C. Dunning, Mr. Lewis Edwards, and Mr. R. F. Jessup.

Group Captain G. M. Knocker read a paper on the Anglo-Saxon cemetery, and other discoveries at Horndean, Hants; and Mr. J. P. T. Burchell, F.S.A., Mr. G. C. Dunning, F.S.A., and Dr. Gordon Ward, F.S.A., read a paper on the Anglo-Saxon site at Sand Tun, West Hythe.

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